

March 21, 1966

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

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these different kinds of products is put in the same size can. Naturally, the weight between cans is going to vary because of the way they are packed. Whole tuna in oil, for example, will have a different weight than chunk tuna in oil, even though they are both in the same size can. Why do manufacturers do this? Well, simply so that they can get maximum use out of their can making and can filling machinery and still offer variety to consumers. This makes for good consumer values. Yet, many of the consumer spokesmen cry that this causes confusion and that the weight should be standardized instead. And, they make no mention of the fact that this will add to costs. Again, I question whether this kind of protection is worth the price.

The main thing here is that there has been a sizable and regrettable misunderstanding in the minds of these very well-meaning people about what consumers actually want in terms of value. Most of the consumer movement today is involved in trying to push through legislative and administrative measures to assure that consumers can always find the thing that costs them least per ounce.

But speaking for myself—and, I believe, most other shoppers—I can assure them that, while price comparisons are important, they are only part of the way in which I judge value. Of far greater importance, it seems to me, is the intangible, subjective question of whether or not a product is going to satisfy myself and my family.

If we want bran flakes, for example, the fact that oatmeal may (or may not) be less expensive per pound doesn't really make any difference to me. The value really lies, in that case, in the more expensive product. And making it easier for me to make this—to me—essentially meaningless comparison isn't going to earn my appreciation, especially if doing so has raised the cost of both products.

But, the consumer spokesmen say, this is of vital importance to the poor, and should be done for them. Yet while it is unquestionably true that helping the poor get more for their money is a worthy enterprise, I sincerely question whether the mass of consumer protection ideas will really do the job.

I question this because I believe that the most common consumer protection measures are designed to solve essentially imaginary problems, ignore the real problems, and in any case, mistakenly assume that treating poverty's symptoms will somehow cure the disease.

It is a fact, I believe, that supermarket shopping today does present some problems. But the problems are not those of simple price comparisons. A more basic problem is the fact that businessmen's sheer inventiveness and ingenuity has spawned such a great variety of new and tempting products that how to best use them presents some very real shopping problems.

These are problems of abundance, not foisted off on an unsuspecting public, but offered us in an atmosphere of free choice. Many consumer spokesmen say this itself is a bad feature of the American marketplace and that the confusion this creates should be diminished by somehow restricting the number of new products that come on the market. How this would be done, I do not know. I am convinced that shoppers are more grateful to the businessmen who found they could package au gratin potatoes in convenient packages than they are to their spokesmen who, in the hysterical discovery of the obvious, complain that the packaged form is far more expensive than the ingredients.

The real problem is not standardizing boxes or contents. The real problem is educating and training people to make the best use of the abundance that is available

to them. And solving the problem begins with an effort directed at the people, rather than at the products.

The fact that shopper can instantly recognize the lowest cost item available to her in a certain category is meaningless if she hasn't got enough money to buy the product in the first place. The fact that a buyer of something on credit can instantly recognize a high rate of interest is meaningless to him if he needs the product and can't get the credit at a lower interest rate.

Concerning credit, the pressure is building for passage of credit control bills.

You should know and be pleased that your California statute regulating credit and installment sales of goods and services, which I believe is known as the Unruh Act, is looked up to nationally as a model law. In it, we see reasonable legislation that has met the needs of the consumer and industry exceptionally well. It has furnished to the consumer adequate information upon which to make a decision on choosing the businessman to whom he will offer his credit.

Likewise, conformity with the law has presented no problem to the seller who wishes to follow the precepts of good business. The proof of the Unruh Act's sufficiency is in the fact that it has withstood the acid test of years. Proposals to amend it—allegedly for greater protection of the consumer—have been rejected when the spotlight showed up the fuzzy thinking behind such proposals. These, in fact, were poorly concealed efforts to put a straitjacket on the granting of credit to service retailing's customers and to facilitate merchandising.

For many Americans, poverty is a very real and grinding truth. What can be done to mitigate it should and must be done. But careful listing of price comparisons or interest rates are of little help to someone who can't read or judge. And it seems to me that if anywhere near half the effort currently being expended in the name of consumer protection were spent instead on educational efforts aimed at helping make smart shoppers out of today's buyers, something far more valuable would be accomplished.

Supermarket people tell me that the real secret to wise buying in their stores involves simply building a shopping list around a set budget, and then sticking to the list when you get to the store. Additionally, a recent U.S. Department of Agriculture study shows that shopping a store's specials will allow a consumer to chop 16 percent a year off of her food expenditures.

My point is that manufacturing and retailers, competing for our patronage, offer us values. We will be best off as we best learn to turn these honest competitive efforts to our own advantage, turning the attributes of the system to our own use. Only this way can we get the protection we really need.

I think by now you have gotten the point that I do not believe that we should look at today's supermarkets as a vast wasteland. As consumers we should look with grateful eyes on the supermarket as a bountiful, even though often confusing and bewildering, symbol of the inventiveness and ingenuity of the food industry and the abundance of the Nation's farms. In trying to make a balanced judgment of value, I ask myself, "Am I willing to pay the price of some confusion and doubt for the tremendous variety of wonderful food that is being brought to me and my dinner table in an ever-increasing palatable and convenient form?" My answer is, "Yes, sir," without qualification. I'm glad to pay the price of some doubtful decisions rather than have our American farmers pay the high prices of seasonal and sharply reduced markets. And, as a working wife myself, I would be the last to suggest to 8 million women who divide their time between a home and a job that they can't have the convenient food forms that make their tasks less burdensome. And

those are only a couple of the alternatives that would arise if some of the regulators of the marketplace had their way.

Instead, there is a very practical and possible way to reduce the price of confusion in choicemaking—not by turning the Nation's supermarkets into a stultifying panorama of bland stimulus but rather educating consumers to the point that they can best use the variety which is offered.

There is a great challenge here to many persons in our country—to the food editors, to the home economists, to our schools, and to our consumer education services at various levels of our government. Too few people are trying to help our consumers buy wisely in relation to their needs. One housewife's "giant economy size" can easily be another housewife's waste. Consumer education should be oriented more to the buying and using of foods than to cooking. Formalized education in our schools has a tremendous challenge to keep pace with new products and services and changing methods or distribution. In only a few schools are they meeting this challenge. As one critic commented the other day, "Virtually all courses in the field are cup-and-teaspoon oriented while we live in a thaw-and-serve age." Yet, just last year, half the population of the United States became 25 years old or younger—40 percent of our population is under 20. Studies show that 80 percent of all teenage girls shop for their family's food and spend one-fourth of the entire family food budget—97 percent of them help plan the meals and help cook them. This is a real challenge in consumer education starting at the teenage level.

And I would like to give the knuckles of industry a gentle rap in this connection. What are they doing in the field of consumer education? As one industry spokesman admitted the other day, "We have, perhaps, become so interested in engineering change that we have neglected to tell anybody about the significance or implications of the changes in terms of the basics of shopping cart and kitchen economics, rather than dated statistics."

The whole point I am trying to make is that an educated consumer is a protected consumer. And a dynamic, changing, keenly competitive food industry makes a happy and fortunate consumer.

To quote myself from a speech made some time ago.

"All the government officials and all the government laws in the world are as nothing compared to the impact Mrs. America has on Mr. Manufacturer and on Mr. Storekeeper when she makes up her mind to buy one brand over another. And when she makes that decision, no power on earth can save the businessman or the producer of the product who made the mistake of displeasing her. She has done and is doing a wonderful job in needling, inspiring, and in regulating American business enterprise."

"And, to reward her, I want to protect her. Not with more government regulations and laws—I want to protect her freedom of choice."

St. Patrick's Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 17, 1966

(Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, today we honor St. Patrick.

March 17, 1966

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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"The General Federation of Women's Clubs is the largest organization of women in the world, and each and every member is grateful to the writers of the Constitution for giving the American people the right to amend the Constitution.

"Just as the 19th amendment gave American women the right to vote, the proposed reapportionment amendment, now before the U.S. Senate, would provide the citizens of each State the right to decide on whether they want both houses, or simply one house, of their legislatures composed on a population-only basis. Could anything be more fair than to let the people vote on this issue? It is difficult to understand why some people oppose this proposed amendment and that fundamental right.

"We have faith in the democratic process—that process which guarantees to the people the right to decide. That is all this issue is about—whether or not the people have the right to decide for themselves."

DEAR CLUB PRESIDENT: On June 15, 1964, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down decisions dealing with the reapportionment of State legislatures. The decisions promulgated the broad rule that " * * * the Equal Protection Clause (of the 14th amendment) requires both houses of a State legislature to be apportioned on a population basis."

This action by the Supreme Court ruled as unconstitutional the long-cherished practice that a State could apportion one house of its legislature along geographical lines. It upset long-established institutions of government. It ordered an end to apportionment on a basis that reflects the various interests within a State. It restricted apportionment solely to the basis of population.

The impact was immediate in every State and has since led to confusion in the courts, legislative deadlocks, and general political uncertainty as to the legal status of political subdivisions of every kind, including the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives.

Concerned Americans, seeking to end this unprecedented chaos and to restore political order and truly representative government, are working to achieve adoption of a corrective constitutional amendment, popularly known as the Dirksen amendment.

At the General Federation of Women's Clubs Convention last June a resolution entitled "Legislative Apportionment" was unanimously adopted. The resolved of that resolution reads: "Resolved, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs urges the Members of the Congress to enact legislation that would guarantee to the States the right to apportion their representation in legislative bodies."

Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois, has introduced a constitutional amendment in the U.S. Senate (S.J. Res. 103) which has been cosponsored by members of both political parties and which has bipartisan support. Senate Joint Resolution 103 proposes an amendment to the Constitution of the United States "to preserve to the people of each State power to determine the composition of its legislature and the apportionment of the membership thereof in accordance with law and the provisions of the Constitution of the United States."

The enclosed pamphlet entitled "Let the People Decide" [not shown in Record] briefly but clearly explains how you and the members of your club can best make your voices heard on this most important constitutional question. I sincerely urge you to give it your very careful consideration.

My warmest regards to you and all the other members of your club.

Most cordially,

Mrs. WILLIAM H. HASERBROOK,
President.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, over 500 State legislators have given new support to this legislative reapportionment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a release which deals with the support given to legislative reapportionment by State legislators.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[A Committee for Government of the People release, Mar. 16, 1966]
STATE LEGISLATORS GIVE HEAVY NEW SUPPORT
TO REAPPORTIONMENT AMENDMENT

Some 500 State legislators from throughout the Nation have joined in urging passage of Senate Joint Resolution 103, the reapportionment amendment pending in the Congress, and have become members of the Committee for Government of the People, the bipartisan citizens organization conducting the national reapportionment campaign.

"These, the men and women thoroughly experienced in State government, are among the strongest leaders in every State in the campaign to let the people decide how their State legislature is to be apportioned." Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, chairman of the Committee for Government of the People, announced today.

"The reapportionment campaign," DIRKSEN said, "is spreading like a prairie fire throughout the States. The people of the country," he said, "are demanding in an ever-swelling chorus of voices that Congress take affirmative action on the reapportionment amendment and let the people of each State decide this vital question by majority vote."

Cochairmen with Senator DIRKSEN on the Committee for Government of the People are Senator FRANK CHURCH, Democrat of Idaho; Senator SPESSARD L. HOLLAND, Democrat of Florida; Senator ROMAN L. HRUSKA, Republican of Nebraska; Senator FRANK J. LAUSCHE, Democrat of Ohio; Senator HUGH SCOTT, Republican of Pennsylvania; Representative RICHARD H. ICHORD, Democrat of Missouri; Representative CARLETON J. KING, Republican of New York; Representative WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH, Republican of Ohio; Representative B. F. SISK, Democrat of California; and Representative WILLIAM M. TUCK, Democrat of Virginia.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I shall not encumber the RECORD with the names of all the legislators.

UN

THE FUTURE OF ASIA

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the Senate will consider on Monday the special appropriation for the Vietnam war. On that occasion I expect to speak, not briefly, but not at great length.

In thinking about this problem, I was interested to read in the Washington Post of March 16 a most interesting column by Joseph Kraft entitled "Four Pillars of Asia." It occurs to me that the point of view expressed by Mr. Kraft is well worth consideration by all Members of the Senate. I would even suggest that it might be worth prayerful thought by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and by the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense.

A witticism going around the Capitol these days is that the Joint Chiefs of Staff no longer do exactly what Joe Alsop wants them to do. It occurs to me that the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Secretary of State might well do a little more:

Do what Mr. Kraft would like to have them do. He points out that the central strategic reality in Asia is not Vietnam at all, and that the future of Asia is not going to be settled by that tiny, little, and relatively little unimportant country.

I am very fearful of that, because of our somewhat adolescent view that every endeavor we go into must end in complete victory, and because of an almost Chinese preoccupation with face on the part of a number of our rulers, we are getting lost so that we cannot see the Asian forest because we are looking all the time at the Vietnamese trees.

Mr. Kraft points out that Communist China is by far the most important country in Asia. He agrees, as I do, that the containment of China is important, indeed, a very important objective of our foreign policy until such time as the belligerence of the present phase of their Communist revolution fails.

Mr. Kraft points out also that, whereas for many generations, if not for many centuries, China was an impotent dragon, she has largely, since the Communists took power, become a major military, economic, and social power in Asia, as, indeed, she was the only important civilized country in the world a couple of thousand years ago.

Mr. Kraft suggests, and I agree, that what the United States really ought to be doing in Vietnam now is continuing a holding operation which will prevent China from spilling all over southeast Asia, but that really, because of our geographic position and many of the other disabilities which confront a white man when he engages in a land war on the ground mass of Asia, we are certainly not an ideal people to contain China in this regard, but rather, the countries which should be doing this are Japan, India, Indonesia, and Pakistan. Unfortunately, with the possible exception of Japan, none of those countries are presently geared up enough, either economically or militarily, to carry on the job of restoring the balance of power in Asia until such time as we can work out some sensible method under the rule of law and disarmament, and a less barbaric way, of keeping the peace than by maintaining a balance of power.

Mr. Kraft also points out that the major American interest should be in building up these four pillars of Asia. What concerns me is that in view of our preoccupation with Vietnam, we are going to devote so much of our wealth, so much of our foreign aid, and so much of our military efforts to Vietnam, and, as I say, to the Chinese effort to save face, that we will not adequately come into an appropriate economic and social alliance with those four pillars of Asia who, in the long run, are essential to the maintenance of the balance of power in that country.

Mr. Kraft poses a final question which I think we should be seriously considering here in the Senate, whether this country, in its executive branch, particularly in the Defense Department and in the State Department, has the brains and the brawn to play the role of a great power.

I think that is a matter that we should concern ourselves with as we debate the appropriation bill on Monday next.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of Mr. Kraft's article entitled "Four Pillars of Asia," published in the Washington Post of March 16, 1966, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOUR PILLARS OF ASIA

(By Joseph Kraft)

The Indonesian upheaval, whatever its final outcome, serves to underline the strategic realities in Asia. It puts Vietnam and the war there in true perspective. And it poses the question whether this country has the wit, as well as the strength, to play the role of a great power.

The central strategic reality in Asia, of course, is not Vietnam. The enduring shape of things to come is not going to be determined by that tiny, little molehill of a country. On the contrary, it is going to be determined by the vast mountain ranges of countries that sprawl across the Asian mainland and its island fringes.

The most important of these great countries, by far, is China. China is important by reason of its immense population, its great size, its central location, its ancient traditions, and its skills and resources.

For many decades, China was in a state of political collapse. During that period, she lost her rightful place in the Asian sun. But in the course of the last two or three decades, this central political weakness has been largely overcome.

Now the Chinese are making their comeback. They are asserting themselves all over the world, but particularly against their immediate neighbors. And they are doing it in the spirit of revolutionary elan and boastful self-gloryification that comes naturally to people long denied.

In the long run, the restraint of Chinese self-aggrandisement will have to depend on the neighboring great powers. Security, to put it another way, will have to rest on the four pillars of Asia.

Japan, because of its advanced technology, large population, and cohesive political structure, probably has the major role to play. As a close second, there is India, with its huge population, its unmistakably democratic political system, and its growing economic power.

In third position, comes Indonesia, the fifth most populous country in the world, and one of the richest in natural resources. And finally there is Pakistan, heavily populated, with a strong military tradition, and an economy that has, as the phrase goes, taken off.

For the time being, none of these countries is able to play its full part in dealings with China. All four have been afflicted by grave internal problems in the postwar era. They have had to concentrate on domestic matters, to the exclusion of a larger international role.

In these circumstances, with the four non-Chinese powers of Asia relatively prostrate, it has fallen to the United States to maintain the balance of power. That is why Americans fought in Korea, and policed the Straits of Formosa. And that is why—if there is any reason at all—Americans are now fighting in Vietnam.

But to say that is to say that in the strictest sense the Vietnam war is a holding operation. This country is holding the line against the day when the Japanese, the Indians, the Indonesians, and the Pakistanis are themselves strong enough to maintain a balance that will afford a measure of protection to the smaller states of Asia.

It follows, accordingly, that the major American interest lies not in Vietnam, but in building up the four pillars of Asia to the point where they can assume the burden this country has carried for so long. The more so as all four countries, and especially Indonesia now, seem to be moving to rid themselves of the shackles that limited their international role in the past.

But how well is this sense of the priorities understood in the United States? How many officials on how many occasions have made it plain that the United States had no great strategic interest directly at stake in Vietnam?

How many officials on how many occasions have indicated that this country was not fighting an ideological war against communism, but only acting to right a dangerous imbalance of power?

How many officials on how many occasions have pointed out that this country was fighting a holding action, not a war aimed at defeating the other side?

The answers that emerge when these questions are posed suggest that the national record, notably in recent weeks and months, is not brilliant. And that is why there remains the larger question of whether this country has the brain as well as the brawn to play the role as a great power.

ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY AT THE GODDARD MEMORIAL DINNER

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I have long had an interest in the annual presentation of the Goddard Award. Dr. Robert H. Goddard, in whose memory the award is made, did much of his pioneer rocket work in New Mexico. At ceremonies at the White House yesterday, President Johnson received the Goddard Award. This was a fitting tribute to the President's leadership in space which runs back many years to his service in the Senate.

Vice President HUMPHREY, who is chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, addressed the Goddard Memorial Dinner last night in connection with the award ceremonies and I ask that his remarks be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY AT THE GODDARD MEMORIAL DINNER, WASHINGTON, D.C., MARCH 16, 1966

Today we commemorate the 40th anniversary of Dr. Robert Goddard's launching of the first liquid fuel rocket.

As we all know so well, Dr. Goddard's recognition came long after it should have come. But today there is no question of his role in moving man into space.

On the occasion of this anniversary, President Johnson today received the Goddard Award. I was privileged to take part in that ceremony, as chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council.

Tonight I particularly wish to commend the National Space Club—which already has done so much to open up the space age—on the award of its first annual Dr. Hugh L. Dryden Fellowship.

When I addressed you a year ago I confessed myself a newcomer in space, but I promised to be a diligent student.

I have not yet been put into orbit. However, I have logged over a quarter of a million miles in 80 missions here on earth—and many of those missions have included visits

to NASA and Department of Defense field installations. I have also visited a number of private industry installations vital to our space effort.

And, of course, I have chaired a number of space council meetings and followed closely all aspects of our activity in space.

Let me share with you tonight—1 year later—a few of my thoughts concerning our space program. I will begin by saying that I have been deeply impressed by the dedication and high performance of those, both in Government and private sector, who participate in our national space effort.

Our space program is a superb example of the kind of creative partnership for progress between Government and the private sector which increasingly marks all areas of our national life.

I wish tonight to stress two things that have been very much on my mind regarding the space program.

First, I am impressed by the vital importance of maintaining the most meticulous standards of performance at every level of our space effort, from the worker on the shop floor right up to the top.

Although this tremendous enterprise involves hundreds of thousands of people, it is vital that each individual concerned in it fully recognize and fulfill his own individual responsibility for its success.

As you well know, the slightest slip-up, the smallest oversight, in any one of millions of processes and procedures can put critically important projects—and human lives—in jeopardy.

I know that I am preaching to the converted here. But I feel this cannot really be said too often.

Second, I feel the necessity for cost consciousness.

This is the need, to put it another way, of getting the most space for the tax dollar.

These are times when we must exert high discipline in public expenditure. And our space program cannot be exempt from that discipline.

In this connection, I was interested to note the theme of the Fourth Goddard Memorial Symposium, sponsored by the American Astronautical Society, which many of you have been attending for the past 2 days.

Last year I spoke of the "year 2000." But the symposium this year chose to focus instead on the theme, "The Space Age in Fiscal Year 2001."

Certainly, Federal appropriations today have an important bearing on where we will be in the future.

I have examined the fiscal year 1967 space budgets with the greatest care. I honestly believe that much can be accomplished within them although other priorities—notably our effort in Vietnam—have required postponement of some objectives.

I also believe that we can and will achieve the goal set by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson: a manned landing on the moon before 1970.

My own confidence in our rapidly advancing science and technology is such that I can visualize many more dramatic achievements ahead, although I will fix no timetable for them.

1. The exploration of the lunar surface, and possibly the establishment of one or more permanent bases there.

2. The development of a whole family of earth-orbiting stations, manned and supplied by regular ferry services.

3. The building of spaceports in a number of places in this country for the departure and arrival of spacecraft.

4. The development of recoverable and reusable launching vehicles, and maneuverable space vehicles, with a consequent drastic reduction in the cost of space travel.

5. The improvement of propulsion methods, with the use of nuclear as well as chem-

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will work out will depend upon the practicality of obtaining insurance for the venture.

But not everyone takes such an enamored view of skiing in the border States. In a recent article in Sports Illustrated entitled "A No-Snow Slope to Nonsport," Bill Gilbert argues that snow machines, ski lifts and super-heated lodges have taken all the uncomfortable and strenuous edges off of skiing and has made it a nonsport. He commits the further heresy of implying that the modern skier cannot take the cold weather that is found in Colorado, Michigan and New England.

"The heart of the southern skiland is now located in the Potomac River Basin—southern Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia," he says. "Innovation is apparently more highly regarded than tradition in southern ski establishments, just as it is in motels and bowling alleys," he continues, pointing to the recreational attractions from golf courses to pony rides which surround the slopes.

Such insults, it should be pointed out, would make any Nordic-blooded ski devotee climb out of his indoor, pre-heated, Olympic-size, ski-lodge swimming pool and bury such writers with a blizzard of artificial, sprayed-from-a-nozzle snowballs.

NATIONAL FUTURE HOMEMAKERS OF AMERICA WEEK

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, next Monday over 600,000 high school youths will start a 1-week observance of special importance, I feel, to all of us.

The week March 27 through April 2 is National FHA Week, honoring the Future Homemakers of America.

Started in 1945 as an incorporated nonprofit organization, it is supported by membership dues. It is sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education and the American Home Economics Association. There are 11,000 chapters of the FHA in secondary schools throughout the United States, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, as well as at American Army post schools.

The FHA is a national organization of home economics students who are serious minded, community spirited, and concerned about the responsibilities of the future—and more importantly are doing something about it.

Kansas is proud to be represented on the FHA National Executive Council by Jim S. Solander of Garnett, Kans. This group leads the national organization.

A 4-year national work program is aimed at helping each young lady recognize her abilities, strive for full development and participate actively in family, community, and world improvement projects. In Kansas some 8,854 young ladies participate in 151 chapters. Just a week ago they held their State convention in Topeka with 2,000 youngsters and 500 adults attending.

An idea of the FHA purpose and program can be seen by chapter activities. For example, at Frankfort, Kans., the chapter conducted a program on mental health featuring Dr. Robert Hughes, the Marshal County health officer, who was able to correct many misconceptions the students had regarding mental illness.

At Cimarron, the FHA chapter had a work day, in which chapter members

worked with their younger sisters broadening their understanding of each other.

At Glasco, the chapter invited a minister to speak on morals and manners.

At Silver Lake, the FHA chapter staged a "dad and daughter" dinner for all the girls in the high school, which included a tour, dinner, and recreation afterward.

These are but a few examples of the manner in which the FHA is helping young girls become stable young adults.

Mr. President, at a time when we seem to be making so little progress in problems of youth despite numerous large-scale Government programs, it is more than reassuring to see the Future Homemakers of America continue to nurture the ideals necessary for a young woman to become a benefit to society—rather than just seeking benefits from it.

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, in the light of the current state of national opinion relating to the war in Vietnam, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the Senate the results of a recent public opinion poll conducted by seven social scientists at Stanford University in cooperation with the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. This national survey discloses that widespread public support exists for a more flexible American bargaining position in Vietnam.

I ask unanimous consent that this report be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STANFORD.—Widespread public support exists for a more flexible American bargaining position in Vietnam, even among President Johnson's supporters, a new national survey showed today.

The privately financed, independent study was conducted by seven social scientists at Stanford in cooperation with the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago.

Based on 1,474 questionnaires administered in person from late February through early March, the survey revealed 88 percent of the adult population favors negotiation with the Vietcong if they are willing to negotiate; 70 percent would support a U.N.-negotiated truce; 54 percent would favor holding free elections in South Vietnam, even if the Vietcong might win; and 52 percent would be willing to see the Vietcong participate in a coalition government in South Vietnam.

Surprisingly, there is practically no difference between those who endorse the President's handling of the Vietnam situation and the general public on these positions, which have been advocated mainly by his congressional critics. (The corresponding percentages for the President's supporters on these four questions were 88, 71, 54, and 51.)

Contrary to press speculation, the new study shows those adults who are critical of the President on Vietnam are mainly "doves," not "hawks." These critics oppose a 500,000 troop commitment in Vietnam by a 2 to 1 margin and are against bombing North Vietnamese cities, 3 to 2.

Like previously published commercial polls, the independent survey shows 61 per-

cent of the public favors President Johnson's handling of Vietnam, while 29 percent are opposed and 10 percent have no opinion.

However, more detailed questions disclose that the majority of Americans have reservations about continuing the war, when faced with its possible costs, both in money and manpower.

Thus, 4 out of 5 adults oppose cutting aid to education if necessary to continue the war. Two-thirds oppose cutting medicare. And two-thirds oppose raising taxes. Majorities also oppose introducing economic controls or reducing the war on poverty for this purpose.

So far as manpower is concerned, a majority (60 percent) would be willing to continue the war if it only required calling up the National Guard. But more than half would rather end the war than see full mobilization or accept several hundred American casualties weekly.

While Americans now are clearly opposed to major escalation of the conflict, they also oppose other extreme alternatives. Thus 4 out of 5 oppose unilateral American withdrawal followed by a Communist takeover, and a similar proportion do not want to see the United States abandon its commitment to other Asian countries.

A majority (56 percent) said they would continue the war if it meant fighting the Chinese in Vietnam. But more than half would rather end the war than bomb cities in North Vietnam (55 percent), fight a land war in China (60 percent) or wage atomic war with China (64 percent). In general, the greater the escalation, the larger the majority favoring an end to the war.

Reaction to one of the most likely steps—a 500,000 troop commitment—is evenly divided (46 percent oppose, 45 percent favor).

The "doves" who favor negotiation with the Vietcong and a coalition government "are not open to the charge of being soft on communism," the authors noted. "Overwhelmingly, these people maintain a firm anti-Communist policy elsewhere in the world." (More than 4 out of 5 in this group either favor present American policies toward Russia, China and Cuba or think our stand should be tougher.)

"If the Vietnam 'dove' turns out to be a hybrid, so does the Vietnam 'hawk,'" the authors observed. Among those who favor a 500,000 troop commitment, for example, 85 percent also favor negotiations with the Vietcong, 53 percent favor free elections, even though the Vietcong might win, and 49 percent favor a coalition government.

Only 6 percent of those interviewed took a consistent "hawk" position of more troops, bombing cities, and no free elections or coalitions with the Vietcong. This group supported the President's handling of Vietnam by a 3-to-1 majority.

At the opposite extreme, 14 percent of the public follows a consistent "dove" position on these same four items. More of this group opposed the President than approved his handling of Vietnam.

In conclusion, the researchers said:

"The American public is clearly concerned about Vietnam. Sixty-one percent say that they are worried about Vietnam—more than worry about any other public issue.

"But their opinions appear to be moderate and responsible. They do not want to pay the domestic costs of commitment in Vietnam, but this is consistent with their desire for a negotiated settlement.

"And though the settlement they prefer involves a willingness to deal with the Vietcong that goes beyond present administration policy, they reject those solutions that require irresponsible abandonment of our commitments."

Results were analyzed by Sidney Verba, Stanford professor of political science, in

collaboration with Gordon Black, graduate student in political science; Richard Brody, assistant professor of political science; Paul Ekman, research associate in the Institute of Political Science (and associate professor of psychology at San Francisco State College); Norman Nie, Stanford graduate student in political science; Edwin B. Parker, Stanford associate professor of communication; and Nelson W. Polsby, fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (and associate professor of government at Wesleyan University, Connecticut.)

Sampling and fieldwork were done under the supervision of Director Peter H. Rossi and Senior Study Director Paul Sheatsley, both of NORC.

Costs were covered by contributions to NORC from over 200 San Francisco Bay area residents, mainly college faculty members, and from NORC itself.

AMERICA'S PARADISE LOST

MR. FONG. Mr. President, on many occasions last year, in this Chamber and elsewhere, I sought to direct attention to the question of the future political status of the people of Micronesia—that vast, far-flung and largely forgotten area known as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

As trustee of some 90,000 inhabitants of tiny islands scattered over a 3 million square mile ocean region, the United States is responsible for the administration of this non-self-governing territory, by agreement with the United Nations Security Council.

In order to stimulate a dialog and discussion on the question of Micronesia's future status, I have made numerous remarks and referred to appropriate literature about the trust territory.

I now wish to call attention to a book just off the press, "America's Paradise Lost," authored by Willard Price, and published by John Day Co. The book has been reviewed by a former Honolulu newsman, Robert Trumbull, who knows Micronesia intimately. Now the head of the New York Times Tokyo Bureau, Mr. Trumbull is the author of the book "Paradise in Trust: A Report on Americans in Micronesia."

Because Mr. Trumbull is a most knowledgeable observer of life in Micronesia, his review of Mr. Price's book should provide much food for thought on the subject. He states that Mr. Price's critical survey of U.S. administration of the trust territory is a "most damning indictment of American misrule in a paradisical part of the world."

In order that all relevant points of view in the continuing discussion on Micronesia's future be made available, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD Mr. Trumbull's review which appeared in the March 13, 1966 issue of the New York Times book review.

There being no objection, the review was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A SHOCKING ACCOUNT (By Robert Trumbull)

"America's Paradise Lost," by Willard Price. Illustrated, 240 pages, New York, the John Day Co., \$5.95.

Americans who bleed, by tradition, for subject peoples under other flags should take a

good look at our own desperate shortcomings in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Washington's contemptuous neglect of some 90,000 brown-skinned Micronesians ever since their welfare became an American responsibility more than 20 years ago should be a national scandal.

The islands are scattered over the Western Pacific, 3,000 miles west of Hawaii, 1,000 miles south of Japan and 2,000 miles east of Vietnam. Most Americans heard of these islands for the first time when our forces made bloody landings at such exotically named places as Kwajalein, Eniwetok, Peleliu, Saipan and Tinian; bombarded the Japanese bases at Truk, Yap, and Koror; and established our own enormous fleet anchorage in the vast blue Ulithi lagoon. In earlier times, the islands had belonged to Spain by right of discovery. When the Spaniards decided to pull out of the Pacific after losing the Philippines in the Spanish-American War, they sold the islands to Germany, Japan seized them at the outset of World War I, only to lose them to the United States in the next great war. ("We would like," said an island chief, "to be ruled by a country that doesn't lose wars.")

Willard Price's new book, aptly entitled "America's Paradise Lost," puts the blame for a disgraceful situation on Congress and the U.S. Department of the Interior, the agency responsible. His scathing work is the latest addition to a growing library of abrasive reports on the American failure in Micronesia, some of them by successive inspection mission from the United Nations Trusteeship Council. Mr. Price opens his shocking account of their shameful plight with the anecdote about an anonymous Congressman who was asked, "What are you going to do about Micronesia?" Said the Congressman, "Mike who?"

The author first visited Micronesia in 1935, when the 2,000-odd islands—"2,000 bits of heaven" of the Marshall, Caroline, and Mariana groups were run by Japan under a League of Nations mandate, the predecessor of the present U.N. trusteeship. If his subsequent book, "Japan's Islands of Mystery" did not tell the U.S. Navy most of what it knew about these highly strategic (and illegally fortified) Japanese outposts, at least it was required reading at Admiral Nimitz's Pacific Fleet Headquarters.

The latest survey, in demonstrating that there has been scant improvement in Micronesian life over the years, and even a sharp deterioration in some aspects of government, is a most damning indictment of American misrule in a paradisical part of the world.

A long list of paying industries developed by the Japanese—large-scale fishing, sugar growing, trochus shell work and pearl culture, to name a few—have virtually disappeared. Jungle grows where the Japanese had thriving towns with paved streets, and a once-profitable territory has become a deficit area. Where once the Japanese had paved highways, roads have been permitted to become all but impassable.

In the "strikingly beautiful" islands of Yap, where stone disks up to 12 feet in diameter still serve as money and "women are ashamed not to show their breasts," bridges have been left broken and canals clogged. One bitter chapter of the book is appropriately titled "The Rust Territory," in tribute to the dilapidated tin towns that are the principal monuments to American rule.

Lovely Palau, "a superb fiving of islands," has become a spectacle of "decay at every turn." Says Mr. Price, "agriculture was in the doldrums. Farmers complained of the lack of incentive. Government help was not what it had been under the farm-minded Japanese. * * * Deep sea fishing * * * had sunk to the lowest ebb in 40 years."

On many islands, Mr. Price found, education is almost entirely lacking. Perhaps 2 percent of Micronesia's adolescent population

ever looks inside a high school, although there are a half dozen at district centers, and "college, except for a favored few, is 'out.'" A teacher told Mr. Price that 15 Micronesians have now been graduated from American colleges, which would be fine except that "if there were the same proportion (of college graduates to population) as in the United States, we would have 760."

The construction of decent hospitals on two islands is listed as a gain; some other so-called hospitals, with broken screens letting in flies, are a disgrace. Some easily treated endemic diseases, such as yaws, have been almost eradicated, but the rampant tuberculosis is a different story.

For a place so often called a paradise, Micronesia has produced outstandingly macabre headlines since Americans took over. It was from Tinian, in the Marianas, that the atomic bombs were delivered to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Kwajalein and Eniwetok, after the residents were removed, became the bases for grisly experiments with super-bombs. Another atoll in the Marshalls, after a particularly horrendous demonstration of destructive power, gave its name to a bathing costume—the Bikini.

The evacuation of numerous island dwellers so that their ancestral land could be blasted to irradiated powder was accomplished with quiet efficiency, although the results have been unhappy from the natives' point of view. Even less fortunate were the innocent Marshallese who were accidentally showered with the same radioactive dust that presumably killed the Japanese fisherman, Koboyama, of the hapless *Lucky Dragon*. The survivors have remained medical curiosities. The atomic testing has been stopped by international agreement, but the azure waters are still a missile range.

Naturally, the picture is not all dark. Ham-handed and ill-advised as the American effort has been in so many aspects, there have been successes in the fields of public health and local self-government. "We like to think we bring a magic touch to anything we undertake," says Mr. Price, but he felt compelled to conclude his survey with the remark that "When everything favorable that can be said has been said, the fact remains that the trust is progressing backward."

Presumably, under the United Nations trusteeship agreement, we are preparing the islanders for eventual independence. Speaking nine languages and scattered over 3 million square miles of sea, an area larger than that of the United States, the Micronesians themselves concede that their political future is a problem. Some would like to join the United States, in spite of everything.

From the beginning, the trust territory has been operated under a misconceived program with an absurd budget and an inadequate staff. As must be true of any such group, many of the Americans in charge are competent and dedicated men and women.

For 10 years, says Mr. Price, Congress allotted the trust territory a paltry \$8 million. The sum was doubled in 1962, but the author notes that meanwhile the cost of operations had also doubled, leaving the situation where it was in the beginning. One of the consequences is that many islanders seldom or never see an American face, because of the shortage of transportation.

It is far too late, Mr. Price was assured by native leaders, for the Micronesians to revert to the simple life of the grass shack and outrigger canoe. "Gone too," he related, "is the more recent paradise of plumbing, refrigeration, the hot rod and money in the pocket under the stimulus of the Japanese and the opulence of the American military. Now a disillusioned but remarkably patient people hang in a state of suspended animation, unable to go back to the ancient simplicity, unequipped to go forward."

Such is the "bitter truth," Mr. Price concludes, of the "forgotten sisters of the richest

\$600,000 this year to accelerate 2 natural trends in the 13 Mountain States—the abandonment of marginal farming and the change in land use on remaining farms to grazing for cattle. In the 13 States, however, 70 percent of the potential pasture land is in need of conservation measures.

The staying power of farmers who remain here is strong. On the rocky slopes of Pendleton County, along the dark, deep-cut ravines that drop almost vertically from a timbered mountain skyline, the land has been inhospitable to economic agriculture for as long as anyone here can remember.

More than a third of West Virginia's farm acreage has a slope of from 25 to 40 percent, or a grade of from 25 to 40 feet of elevation for each 100 feet of expanse.

This county was settled 200 years ago and, starting with raids during the French and Indian War, it has had trouble. Isolation between the Shenandoah and Allegheny Mountains, near the headquarters of the Potomac River, still makes the region difficult to reach on winding roads. It has hampered farm market outlets.

And now, Commissioner Douglass said, it is even difficult for fathers here to sell produce locally. Buyers in Appalachia, as everywhere else, prefer the packaged foods available at supermarkets.

Mr. Shrader's \$1,091 in aid will pay 80 percent of his costs in reclaiming, through aerial application of fertilizer, topdressing with lime and reseeding in orchard grass, 50 acres of pasture and meadowland. He will also get \$150 to develop a spring, providing pipes and troughs to water his livestock.

He already has two 5 percent loans from the Farmers Home Administration, totaling \$5,900.

An irony of the Appalachian farm recovery program, West Virginia officials said yesterday, is that it was watered down and renamed "land stabilization" when Congressmen from western and southern cattle districts objected that the original, more generous "pasture improvement" plan might subsidize beef competition for their own constituents.

VIETNAM—ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY TO COLUMBIA SCHOLASTIC PRESS ASSOCIATION

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, on March 12, Vice President HUMPHREY made a statement on the Vietnam situation to the Columbia Scholastic Press Association in New York City. His remarks to these college students—delivered over the telephone because he was not able to leave Washington, D.C., at that time—will be of interest to many of my colleagues.

I should like unanimous consent that Vice President HUMPHREY's remarks be inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TELEPHONE REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY TO COLUMBIA SCHOLASTIC PRESS ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 12, 1966

I am sorry that I am not able to be with you in person today. The business of government keeps me in Washington. But I am happy to at least have the chance to visit with you by telephone.

I have spent much of my time in public life in the company of the press. But never have I been exposed to so many journalists at one time.

If it were possible, I would prefer to convert this telephone message into a press conference, and respond to your questions.

I know that they would be probing and pointed. And I know that most of them would focus on Vietnam.

I would like to address myself briefly to some of the questions I am sure you would ask.

I am sure you would begin by asking: Why are we in Vietnam?

We are in South Vietnam to repel and prevent the success of aggression against the Government and the people of that country.

We are there to help assure the South Vietnamese people the basic right to decide their own futures, freely and without intimidation.

We are there to help those people achieve a better standard of living for themselves and their children.

We are there to help establish the principle that—in this nuclear age—aggression cannot be an acceptable means either of settling international disputes or of realizing national objectives. If aggression is permitted to go unchecked, we cannot in good faith hold out much hope for the future of small nations or of world peace.

This is why we are in Vietnam.

We are not there to build an empire * * * to exercise domination over that part of the world * * * to establish military bases. We are not there to impose a government or way of life on other peoples.

The Government of South Vietnam faces a massive task in building a democratic society while meeting determined force and terror.

For many centuries, the Vietnamese people lived under Mandarin rule. Then came two generations of colonial domination, followed by 25 years of almost constant warfare. This is stony soil for democracy to grow in.

Moreover, illiteracy has been high, corruption all too common and public spirit all too rare, and the number of well-trained educated people all too small.

The peasants of Vietnam—and, indeed, of all Asia—are rebelling against the kind of life they have led for ages past. They want security. But they also want dignity and self-respect, justice, and the hope of something better in the future.

The Communists—in their drive for power—seek to use and subvert the hopes of these people. If they succeed, we could win many battles and yet lose the war.

That is why the Vietnamese Government, with our support, is pressing the "other war" with vigor—the war against poverty, hunger, disease, and ignorance. This is the theme of the "Declaration of Honolulu"—and I believe that the Honolulu Declaration could be a milestone in the history of our policy in Asia.

The Government of South Vietnam is beginning in earnest the struggle to win and hold the allegiance of the people who live in rural South Vietnam, in more than 2,600 villages and approximately 11,000 hamlets.

Efforts are being made to give South Vietnam firm social and economic footing—and a sound democratic political system as well.

An Advisory Council for the Building of Democracy (including representatives of all the nationalist political tendencies) has been appointed. It is drafting a constitution, an election law, and regulations concerning political parties and the press. It will hold broad-scale consultations in formulating these documents and regulations.

Premier Ky has publicly committed himself to steps leading to free elections before the end of next year. As I left Saigon, a few days ago, Premier Ky told me: "We have begun 12 years late. But it is not too late."

Are these mere words, or will they be backed up by genuine commitment and participation by the people in translating them into deeds?

I think the most encouraging answer to that question is being given by the students

of South Vietnam. They are young men and women who, for the most part, come from the more comfortable and privileged groups in the country, based largely in the cities.

Last summer some 5,000 young people voluntarily enrolled in the summer youth program. They went out to all portions of the country which are not under Communist control. They rolled up their sleeves and set to work with purpose and dedication. They helped erect schools, dug wells, built homes for the refugees, and carried out many other useful projects.

That program was scheduled for the 2 months of the school vacation. But it has been widely continued since.

When I was in South Vietnam, I visited a demonstration project staffed by teenagers in the Eighth District of Saigon—a badly rundown slum, the worst in the city. Under the leadership of the students, a group of refugees there had converted an abandoned and water-filled graveyard into an attractive, orderly neighborhood of new homes. A community center and a school were being built, and local officials had been elected.

Some 30 Vietnamese teachers of English have launched what they call a "new school" movement. They are seeking to stimulate a richer and more democratic extracurricular life for high school students. They are helping them to develop student government, debating societies, sports clubs, and—this will please you, I'm sure—student newspapers.

A number of youth organizations—Catholic, Buddhist, and others—are undertaking work and training projects throughout South Vietnam. Some are being assisted by the government; some are working with the fine group of men and women in Vietnam for the International Voluntary Service, and others are acting on their own initiative.

Young people like these offer the best hope for the future of a free Vietnam. Indeed, one of the tests of whether its government is making progress toward its goals in the social revolution will be the degree to which the government can attract and hold their allegiance and support.

Let me add a few words directed to you young people listening today.

We know much too little about Asia, and we need to know much more.

I hope that many of you will take the opportunity in college to learn more about Asia. For those of you who will continue as journalists, this knowledge will be essential. It will be important also to those of you who elect other walks of life—perhaps in your work, certainly as responsible citizens. Some of you may devote your careers to Asia—as diplomats, as business men, or as scholars.

We need to do our level best to stimulate wider American interest in Asia—including Communist China. I am delighted that President Johnson has opened the way for our scholars to travel there. The Chinese leaders speak harshly of us but, as President Johnson has said:

"We can live with anger in words as long as it is matched by caution in deed."

I am convinced that—despite the shrill anti-American propaganda which is carried on by the Chinese Communists—there is still much friendship there for us among the Chinese people from our many previous years of fruitful and constructive work together.

We must be firm in resisting the expansionist designs of the present rulers of China. But we must take every opportunity to show our friendship for the Chinese people. We respect and value their learning, their skills, their arts, and their many contributions to civilization.

With the other peoples of Asia, I anticipate steadily growing friendship and cooperation. They are already an important part of the

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tical energy, so that faster and more powerful rockets can make planetary trips in a week or less which today would require many months.

6. The launching of unmanned probes to every part of the solar system—and perhaps manned planetary expeditions as well.

We must not, however, become so totally fascinated by the wonders of outer space that we neglect the applications of space technology to a better life right here on earth.

A few days ago we orbited our first truly operational weather satellite—Esa II. I was pleased during my recent visit to the Goddard Space Flight Center to see the successful readout of the first weather pictures it sent back. This is a satellite the entire world can tune in on—not only governments but, with a relatively small investment, colleges or even individual citizens.

The time is not distant when we will be able to predict, and predict with accuracy, the weather everywhere on earth. We may even be able to control it—and thus open up many arid portions of the world to cultivation.

Global communication by satellites will become a fact in the very near future. It will be followed by direct broadcast of both voice and TV to home receivers throughout large sections of the world.

In the field of medicine alone, the benefits are already impressive. Improvements in medical instrumentation, resulting from electronic innovations in the space program, are already beginning to revolutionize the equipment of clinics and hospitals. It should be possible to monitor continuously and in detail the condition of hundreds of patients from a single location.

Other direct benefits will come in the form of wideband transoceanic communications, improved forest fire detection, and high-accuracy navigation.

We have already made fantastic strides in devising more effective, reliable, and compact electronic equipment with a wide variety of applications. We have developed improved alloys, ceramics, and other materials. And there have been other innovations, such as the accelerated use of liquid oxygen in steelmaking, new coatings for the temperature control of buildings, and filters for detergents.

Our progress in space has already contributed to our national security. The use of communications satellites is backing up our effort in Vietnam.

In addition to the support of our Armed Forces by better communications, our peaceful application of space competence for national security takes many other forms.

Among them are more accurate knowledge of the weather, more effective mapping, earlier warning of impending dangers, and the detection of nuclear explosions in space or in the atmosphere.

There are some who claim, with all sincerity, that the terrestrial relevance of space science and technology has been much exaggerated. Concerning this, I would make two comments:

One is to the skeptics outside this hall. I think they have forgotten the fact that this whole field is still only in its infancy. The best is yet to come.

The other is to you. As you constantly enlarge the horizons of space science and technology, I urge that you be everlastingly alert to recognize those discoveries and innovations which can usefully be applied here on our own planet.

Moreover, it is not only technology that we have developed. Perhaps even more important, we have called into being rich human and intellectual resources—methods, capabilities, insights, and management tech-

niques which can be brought to bear upon problems far removed from space.

In this respect, I want to commend the initiative of private companies and of Governor Brown of California, who have shown the way toward focusing the talents of the aerospace industries on matters as important to our everyday living as traffic congestion and garbage control.

I believe the technique of systems analysis—developed to its highest point so far in the aerospace industries—will be invaluable to us as we face up to the problems of urban life, to the pollution of our waters and our atmosphere, and to many other challenges of today and tomorrow.

I believe those of you here who are in the aerospace industry have a very real obligation to make your capabilities more widely known to State and local officials.

Why you? Because the technical and intellectual capabilities you possess in abundance were made possible by the tax dollars which have supported the space program.

Why you? Because your management and your workers are citizens of many of the communities which will directly benefit from such efforts.

Why you? Because it will be a practical demonstration to the world how democracy and free enterprise function effectively for the common good.

I shall conclude with a few observations on the international significance of the space effort.

I believe it is virtually impossible to overestimate the interest of peoples throughout the world in the unfolding space age.

For example, a USIA-sponsored space exhibit last month in Rangoon, Burma—a place most of us might have imagined to be remote from the space age—drew over 250,000 visitors. Astronaut John Glenn was there, and Astronauts Walter Schirra and Frank Borman are currently winding up a successful swing around the free Asian capitals, Australia, and New Zealand.

Many countries with little or no space experience are showing their interest in a very concrete and practical way. They have realized the need to engage in space programs to develop their own scientific competence, and we are helping them to do so. Already we are cooperating with about 70 countries, and the State Department and NASA are pressing forward with new initiatives in international cooperation.

For what I now say I may be accused of being something of a visionary—but I am encouraged to do so by being in the good company of other visionaries.

I believe that the exploration of space will have a profound effect upon how we look at our life here on earth. It will put all our affairs in a wider and more wholesome perspective.

Ever since Copernicus, we have known that our earth is a small planet in an immense universe. But while we have known this intellectually and theoretically, most of us have not really taken it to heart, not really felt it in the marrow of our bones.

As the full significance of that fact is brought home to us by the actual exploration of space, it will seem increasingly absurd that we have not better organized our life here on earth.

Our experience in space can be a powerful stimulus to all of us, wherever we live, to move toward the establishment of a world of law, where freedom and justice are assured to all—and where, in the words of the Prophet Isaiah:

"Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT IN OPERATION

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the Appalachian Regional Development Act was highly publicized during the congressional debate on the enactment of the authorizing legislation and in determining the amounts of money to be allocated by the Federal Government to carry out the programs authorized.

The New York Times on Sunday, March 13, carried a report on one small project which has been initiated under this act to benefit a West Virginia farmer.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES RISKS \$1,091.85 ON MAKING A WEST VIRGINIA FARMER A LITTLE LESS POOR

(By Ben A. Franklin)

FRANKLIN, W. Va., March 12.—Six miles on the twisting blacktop from this mountain hamlet of 760 persons and a mile and a half off the hard road, the Federal Government is reaching out to give W. Walton Shrader a chance to change four generations of hard-earned poverty on a nearly spent Appalachian family farm.

It seems both a modest and a risky out-reach. It is a gamble that a poor rural family, living in what would seem frontier conditions if the land were not already overgrassed and leached of life, can be a little less poor by enriching the sloping pasture with Government fertilizer.

It may mean an addition of four head to Mr. Shrader's herd of 17 Hereford beef cows and 100 sheep, which brought him a net income of \$1,300 last year.

In a ceremony here yesterday afternoon, made awkward by a gathering of country men unused to their roles at such an occasion, Mr. Shrader received \$1,091.85 under the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 to improve 50 acres of his 304-acre farm, the maximum area allowed each applicant.

According to Gus R. Douglass, the West Virginia Commissioner of Agriculture who came here from Charleston to officiate, the ceremonial writing of signatures, committing the Federal money, made the hefty, crew-cut Mr. Shrader the first farmer in the 13-State Appalachian region to receive such a recovery grant.

Few here, least of all Mr. Shrader, who looks older than his 31 years, expect to get rich. But against the topographic and economic forces that have cut farm employment in West Virginia in half since 1950, Mr. Shrader is staying.

"My great-great-granddaddy built the house," he said.

He has neither a telephone nor an automobile. The Appalachian development contract he signed will give him income over the next 5 years, earmarked for specific land stabilization projects, that is not quite equal to the net total he cleared last year to support his wife, his two children, his sister and a nearly blind uncle who shares ownership of the farm and lives with him.

Even more than in other, richer agricultural regions, farming in Appalachia, Commissioner Douglass said, must be "professional," scratching out the best possible economic use of the poor land.

The 6-year, \$1.2 billion Appalachian Regional Development Act gives West Virginia

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world of my generation. They are certain to be an even more significant part of yours.

Finally, may I say this: The next few years of human history will be dangerous ones. But they will also be years of opportunity.

For never has mankind ever possessed such power for good and for making the world safer and happier for hundreds of millions of people who have never had their share of anything but hunger, ignorance, and misery.

Your generation will have a large part to play in determining whether man destroys himself or whether he moves forward into a new age of peace and understanding.

The future is in your hands. I hope you will make the most of it.

MILWAUKEE SENTINEL COMMENTS ON SCHOOL MILK CUTBACK

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I would like to draw my colleagues' attention to an excellent article commenting on the administration's plans to cripple the special milk program for schoolchildren. This article appeared in one of the Nation's finest newspapers, the Milwaukee Sentinel, under the byline of the paper's new Washington correspondent, James Wieghart.

In my estimation this article sums up the issues at stake as well as any I have read since the school milk controversy got underway. First the story points out that the issue is "a Federal program which this year will make available more than 3 billion half pints of milk for millions of children in 94,000 schools, child care centers, settlement houses, summer camps, and other nonprofit institutions that aid children."

The article then goes on to say:

Under the program the Federal Government pays 3 cents a half pint for school milk. The remaining 2 to 4 cents is paid locally. The milk program is not compulsory, but is made available to all children in participating schools.

As my colleagues so well know the proposed 80-percent cut means that the children would have to pay the 3 cents now provided by the Federal Government unless they passed a means test or attended a school without a school lunch program. This does not sound like much money. But let us take a family with four children in school. Each child probably has milk in midmorning and midafternoon under the school milk program. This means 40 half pints a week. Without Federal help the parents of those children would have to pay an additional \$1.20 a week or as much as \$42 more a year. For a family with four children and moderate means this is a great burden.

The Wieghart article then goes on to quote many members of the Wisconsin delegation. For example he quotes Congressman RACE as agreeing with President Johnson that lower priority domestic programs will have to be cut to finance the war in Vietnam but saying that the school milk program should not be considered "lower priority."

Representative STALBAUM is quoted as saying:

I feel this program is perhaps the lowest price investment all of us could make to greatly improve the overall health of this country.

I ask unanimous consent that this excellent article be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROXMIRE GAINS AID AGAINST MILK CUTBACK

(By James G. Wieghart)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A congressional revolt—less dramatic than the great debate on Vietnam policy—is being led by Senator PROXMIRE, Democrat, of Wisconsin, over the administration's proposed cutback of the highly successful school milk program.

Unlike the revolt against Mr. Johnson's Vietnam policy, Proxmire's rebellion appears to be gaining enough Senate and House support to be successful.

At issue is the fate of a Federal program which this year will make available more than 3 billion half pints of milk for millions of children in 94,000 schools, child care centers, settlement houses, summer camps, and other nonprofit institutions that aid children.

Under the program, the Federal Government pays 3 cents a half pint for school milk. The remaining 2 to 4 cents is paid locally. The milk program is not compulsory, but it is made available to all children in participating schools.

The administration announced last month that the Federal Government would cut spending on the program this year from the \$103 million appropriated by Congress, to \$100 million. For fiscal 1967, beginning July 1, the administration plans to cut spending on school milk from \$103 million to \$21 million.

PROXMIRE has attacked the administration's proposal as "phony economy" in a series of daily Senate speeches over the last several weeks.

He also has introduced a bill to enlarge the school milk program and make it permanent. Under the Proxmire bill, \$110 million would be appropriated for the program in fiscal 1967, \$115 million in 1968, and \$120 million in 1969 and succeeding years.

Senator NELSON, Democrat, of Wisconsin, and 42 other Senators have cosponsored the Proxmire bill. Identical bills have been introduced in the House by Representatives RACE and STALBAUM, both Wisconsin Democrats, and five other House Members.

"The administration's proposed cutback is a phony, fake, paper economy," PROXMIRE said Sunday. "Federal funds not spent on school milk will be spent under price support laws to buy and sell the same milk."

"Less milk will be used under the program because local school districts will have to assume an increased share of the cost of the program or pass it on to the children."

"This means that less milk will be consumed and more milk will have to be purchased by the Government under the dairy support program. In other words, instead of going into the children's stomachs, the milk will be powdered and stored in warehouses at Government expense," PROXMIRE said.

NELSON said Congress "is unlikely" to allow the budget cut to stand. He said the reduction would mean the end of the milk program which provides milk for 650,000 children, including those in Wisconsin schools. "If this milk isn't purchased for the schools, it goes into butter, cheese, and dry milk and ends up in surplus under the price support program," NELSON said. "Then the Government has to buy it anyway, at almost the same cost."

RACE said he agreed with President Johnson that "lower priority" domestic programs will have to be cut to finance the war in Vietnam, but he said the school milk program should not be considered "lower priority."

"The health and nutrition of our Nation's youngsters cannot be a matter of 'lower priority' in the wide ranging concerns of our National Government," RACE said.

STALBAUM, a member of the House Agricultural Committee, said that there is strong support for the bill to preserve the program among committee members.

"I feel this program is perhaps the lowest price investment all of us could make to greatly improve the overall health of this country," STALBAUM said.

Representative THOMSON, Republican, of Wisconsin, who also supports the bill, said:

"It is absurd for President Johnson to ask for billions of dollars for vast, worldwide programs for social progress, while he denies milk for the schoolchildren of America."

Mr. Johnson, stung over the wave of criticism on the proposal, reportedly has directed his staff to prepare new legislation restoring some Federal support for the school milk and school lunch programs.

The President reportedly told representatives of the National Milk Producers Federation that his greatest volume of mail concerned the war in Vietnam and the cutback in the school program.

The administration's new proposal, however, reportedly will have a means test attached to it, limiting milk only to children of poverty stricken families.

PROXMIRE has indicated he would oppose such a measure.

"Nothing is more abhorrent in my mind than requiring first and second graders to give evidence that dad is too poor to pay for a half pint of milk, but this is exactly what a means test would require," PROXMIRE said.

TRIBUTE TO FORMER SENATOR HARRY FLOOD BYRD

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, today I rise to pay tribute to one of the finest gentlemen and finest Senators it has been my privilege to know, former Senator Harry Flood Byrd, who retired last November.

Long before I came to the Senate in 1959, I knew of Harry Flood Byrd; for over a period of many years he had been a symbol of fiscal soundness and financial responsibility in government. He earned this reputation as a successful farmer, as Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia from 1926 to 1930, and as U.S. Senator since 1933.

His unflinching dedication to sound finance, his steadfastness against the fluctuating popular fiscal and economic breezes, and his refusal to be intimidated though outnumbered earned him fitting and enviable praise as a man of "absolute integrity, absolute honesty, and absolute courage."

We who served with Senator Byrd attest to the accuracy of this description by the eminent writer, William S. White.

Senator Byrd was never a faddist. He was a fundamentalist. And although majority sentiment might differ from his views, he never harbored rancor nor bitterness. He possessed the courage that is born of conviction.

When Senator Byrd announced his retirement, there were comments that an era in American history had ended.

Perhaps in a sense this is so.

But the example that he set during his long public tenure will shine on and on for us and for generations of Americans to come: unselfish devotion to

duty, unwavering allegiance to public office as a public trust, and tireless safeguarding of the people's money.

A poor boy who worked hard and became a prosperous apple grower and a successful public leader, Senator Byrd has earned a high place in history's roll-call of American statesmen and patriots.

The Commonwealth of Virginia can be very proud of one of its most illustrious sons. Virginia has lost a great champion in Congress and the U.S. Senate has lost one of its most notable Members.

I want to wish Senator Byrd good health and long life in his well-deserved retirement. Aloha, my friend.

WEST VIRGINIA'S SUMMERSVILLE DAM AND RESERVOIR

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the pace of activities attendant upon the development of the Summersville Dam and Reservoir project in Nicholas County, W. Va., including the recreational complex and airport facilities, is accelerating. On Wednesday, March 23, the tunnel releasing the water over the dam will be tested and bidding opened for contractors' services in seeding the 425 acres of uncovered earth left exposed following construction of the dam.

Meanwhile, West Virginians are eagerly watching the progress of this multi-million-dollar project, which combines flood control, increased water supply, pollution abatement, recreation, and fish propagation and is ultimately expected to attract thousands of tourists annually to West Virginia.

The March 13 article by Mr. Harold C. Godd in the Sunday, Charleston, W. Va., Gazette-Mail State magazine, entitled "The Water That Isn't Going Over the Dam," describes this eagerness.

I ask unanimous consent that this newspaper article be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WATER THAT ISN'T GOING OVER THE DAM (By Harold C. Gadd)

About the first week of February, Summersville residents and motorists who had come from miles to see the new reservoir behind the Summersville Dam, gasped at the sight of the rapidly rising water level.

Since work on the three, valve-controlled outlets was not completed—and would not be completed until sometime in April—was there danger that the unusually heavy snows of January would soon have the water pouring over the top of the dam? Wouldn't that be dangerous?

No, said a spokesman from the Huntington District, U.S. Corps of Engineers, in answer to the first question. Long before the water level could reach the top of the dam, the excess water would pour out over a spillway designed and built for just that purpose.

After that was published, the sightseers started looking for the "spillway." A lot of them couldn't find it.

As one motorist, who had driven up from Charleston to see the dam and reservoir, said:

"I looked all over and I couldn't find any spillway. But I'll tell them this: if that water comes up two more feet it is going to be over the highway."

Actually, the stretch of highway to which he was referring is the beginning of the spillway. It is a half-mile—or less—from the dam itself and you have to drive over it if you go to see the dam from the direction of Kessler's Cross Lanes.

On Thursday, March 3, the Gazette published a photo of water pouring over the spillway, but the caption writer—thinking, perhaps, that everyone was as familiar with the subject as he was—wrote:

"Over the top of Summersville Dam go millions of gallons of Gauley River water."

The caption writer was wrong. The Army engineers were right. The water was going over the spillway, not the dam.

Actually, once the outlets in the dam itself are completed, the spillway will probably never be needed as such again—despite a Summersville wag who was heard to remark:

"Them engineers just think that water will never go over the spillway again. They don't know the Old Gauley River."

Maybe they don't, but we know the Old Corps of Engineers and if those outlets aren't big enough to handle the old Gauley River once they are put in operation, we're going to be mighty surprised.

But, if they don't, it won't hurt anything for the spillway to be a spillway any time it is needed.

SCHOOL LUNCH AND SPECIAL MILK PROGRAMS

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I am shocked by the President's proposal to seriously curtail the school lunch and special school milk programs that have benefited America's children to such a great extent.

It does not seem right that the administration which proposes so much welfare legislation would reduce drastically or perhaps even cripple such beneficial programs as these to provide milk and school lunches for our schoolchildren. Recently the administration suggested a food-for-freedom program to feed the hungry of the world. While the idea's objective is laudable, I think that first we ought to be concerned with meeting the nutritional requirements of our own children.

For this reason, I have sponsored S. 2888, which would provide that milk and dairy products controlled by the Commodity Credit Corporation be used in nonprofit school lunch programs without regard to priorities set up in other laws. I have also sponsored S. 2921, which would establish a permanent school milk program.

This latter bill directs the Secretary of Agriculture to encourage the consumption of milk by U.S. children in schools and other nonprofit institutions. In addition, it furnishes guidelines for expansion of the program beginning with the 1967 fiscal year, and authorizes the expenditure of the necessary funds for the program. Another feature would require the Department of Agriculture to reallocate funds which the Secretary determines will not be fully utilized by the State to which they were initially allotted.

Since 1936, the school lunch program has enabled millions of children to obtain hot, well-balanced meals they might not have enjoyed otherwise. In 1965, some 18 million children in 71,000 public and nonprofit private schools received

lunches. The total average cost of 50 cents per meal has been divided among the Federal Government, the individual child, and the States and localities.

Wyoming, like other States, wholeheartedly approves the school lunch program. This past fiscal year, an estimated 31,906 of our children and 273 of our schools participated.

From the beginning, the program has been managed at the local level. The decision to participate, the responsibility for facilities, and the conduct of the program as set out by Federal guidelines are under local authority. Federal contributions are twofold: cash and food—either procured specifically for the program or through surpluses from the Department of Agriculture's price support or surplus removal programs.

The special school milk program was instituted in 1954 as a means of diverting surplus milk production from the ever-growing dairy products stockpile of the Commodity Credit Corporation, for the use of children. Originally limited to schools, the program was extended in 1956 to cover nonprofit camps, homes, and other children's institutions.

Under the program, each child pays 3 to 4 cents on the average for a half pint of milk costing a total of 6 to 8 cents. Wyoming had 314 schools taking part in the milk program this past fiscal year.

Both the school lunch and the special milk programs have been far more successful than anticipated. Not only have the health and well-being of our children been improved, but also a good market for our farmers, good industries, and local businesses has been developed. Vast amounts of surplus foods acquired by the Federal Government in price-support efforts have been utilized.

Despite the overwhelming benefits of the school lunch and special milk programs, the President now asks that they be reduced by \$19 million—12 percent—and \$82 million—82 percent—respectively, although school population continues to expand.

If the demonstrated advantages of these programs are to be maintained, there must be affirmative legislative action. Otherwise, our children, farmers and businessmen, including those in Wyoming, will suffer. I urge immediate consideration and approval of S. 2888, permitting the needs of the school lunch program to be met from CCC stocks, and S. 2921, establishing a permanent school milk program. In support of my recommendation, I quote from the Senate Report No. 1218, on the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964:

No better investment can be made than to increase funds so that wholesome lunches and milk will be available to all children of school age.

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VIETNAM IN PERSPECTIVE

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the American people are today like the man who is asked to pick up a book and begin reading on page 179. They have difficulty identifying the characters, the setting, and the sequence. They must rely on others to tell them what transpired in the previous pages.

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The book to which I refer is, of course, about Vietnam, and a man well qualified to explain what has gone before is John J. Fairbank, director of the East Asian Research Center at Harvard and author of numerous books and articles about U.S. relations with China.

As I have said on several occasions, it is immensely important for us to understand the Chinese cultural influence in southeast Asia, for, as Dr. Fairbank observes:

Cultural differences lay the powder train for international conflict.

From his understanding of historical and cultural forces, Dr. Fairbank is qualified to discuss our present predicament in southeast Asia and how we should deal with China in the future.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article by John J. Fairbank appearing in the February 27 Washington Post, as excerpted from the New York Review of Books, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Feb. 27, 1966]

**UNITED STATES FIGHTING AN IDEA
IN VIETNAM**

(By John J. Fairbank)

(NOTE.—Fairbank is director of the East Asian Research Center at Harvard and author of "The United States and China" and "Chinese Thought and Institutions." His article is excerpted with permission from the New York Review of Books, 1966, the New York Review.)

The Vietnam debate reflects our intellectual unpreparedness. Crisis has arisen on the furthest frontier of public knowledge, and viewpoints diverge widely because we all lack background information.

"Vietnam" was not even a label on our horizon 20 years ago. It was still "Annam" (the old Chinese term), buried within the French creation "Indochina."

Our ignorance widens the spectrum of debate: Everyone seeks peace but some would get it by fighting more broadly, some by not fighting at all and some by continuing a strictly limited war. Everyone wants negotiations. But to get them, some would bomb North Vietnam and others would pause or stop.

Behind the cacophony of argument, some hold the Eurocentric view that Vietnam is far away and in the Chinese realm, not in our realm. Others argue for a more global view that the balance of power and international order can be preserved only by containing the Chinese revolution as we are already doing in Korea and the Taiwan Straits.

Yet here the problem arises that it is not the Chinese whom we face in South Vietnam, but rather their model of revolution, Chairman Mao's idea. And how does one stop a revolutionary idea?

HISTORICAL GRAB BAG

How to deal with the Chinese revolution depends on how we understand it—specifically, what is the Chinese revolutionary influence in Vietnam? And behind that, what is the nature of the Chinese revolution itself? Can we ultimately deal with it in any way short of war? But where would war get us?

A long view is needed, a historical framework within which to see all the actors, including ourselves. (What are we doing so far from home?) Yet our knowledge of east Asian history is so meager it can mislead us.

History is used as a grab bag from which each advocate pulls out a lesson to prove his point.

Some recall Manchuria in 1931: We failed to stop Japan's aggression and it led on to Pearl Harbor. Others recall our drive to the Yalu in 1950: We ignored China's vital interest in her frontier and got ourselves into a bigger war. Again, what was the lesson of Dienbienphu in 1954—were the French strategically overextended or merely tactically deficient in airpower?

History never repeats itself, means that one can never find a perfect 1 to 1 correspondence between two situations. Each must be viewed within the long flow of events, not as an isolated lesson. Brief articles (like this one) can offer only limited wisdom.

Nevertheless, certain main outlines emerge from a historical survey. The Vietnamese and Chinese have had their own specific ways and interests, traditions and attitudes, and their own east Asian pattern of contact, not in the Western style.

ANCIENT COMMON BOND

China's revolutionary influence on Vietnam comes from a long past. In the first place, Vietnam grew up as part of Chinese culture—the east Asian realm which included not only China in the center but also the peripheral states of Korea and Vietnam and Japan as well.

All these countries took over the Chinese writing system in ancient times and with it the Chinese classical teachings, the bureaucratic system of government, and the family based social order so eloquently advocated in the Confucian classics. These countries have an ancient common bond in philosophy, government, and cultural values.

In Vietnam's case, this Chinese heritage was imposed by a thousand years of Chinese rule in North Vietnam, the ancient homeland of the Vietnamese before they expanded southward into the Mekong Delta. Independence from Chinese rule was gained by fighting in the 10th century A.D., but Vietnam then continued for another thousand years to be independent only within the Chinese realm and tribute system.

Down to the 1880's, Vietnamese tribute missions, going over the long post route to Peking, acknowledged the superior size and power, the superior culture and wisdom of the Chinese Empire and its rulers. This filial or younger brother relationship was broken only a few times when Chinese armies again invaded Hanoi (for example, in 1406 and 1789) only to be thrown out by the Vietnamese resistance, whereupon tributary relations were resumed.

There were only these alternatives: to be ruled by China or to be tributary, in the Chinese cultural-political-psychological sense, taking China as a model. This went to the point of using the same structure of government and copying the Chinese law codes verbatim, with the same terminology, in Chinese characters, which were the official writing system.

Vietnam's growth in the shadow of China was eventually balanced by the arrival of sea invaders from the West. The early Portuguese adventurers and the later Dutch and British East India companies landed their ships at Danang (Tourane), where our Marines are today. This sea contact with the expanding West climaxed in the French takeover of the 1860's and seventies. French colonialism during its 80 years brought both exploitation and modernization in a mixture that is hotly debated and can hardly be unscrambled.

We Americans have thus had predecessors (even the Japanese in 1940-45) on the long thin coast of Vietnam. We are sleeping in the same bed the French slept in, even though we dream very different dreams.

VIETNAM IN MIDDLE

Western seapower in southeast Asia goes back 450 years. Europeans expanded westward into the empty Americas very slowly. They went east into populous Asia more quickly and easily. The resulting colonialism in southeast Asia has now been superseded by the new relationships we are trying to work out in the name of national self-determination.

We are on an old cultural frontier between the international trading world and Asia's land-based empires. Vietnam, like Korea, has been caught in the middle and pulled in two.

Vietnamese patriots reacted against the French by learning modern nationalism from them. In so doing, they continued to be influenced by the Chinese example to the north. The Chinese reformers of 1898 had their counterparts in Hanoi. Sun Yat-sen operated from there in 1907-08. When his Chinese Kuomintang reorganized itself on Soviet lines in the 1920's, a Vietnamese Kuomintang followed suit.

In the same era, the Chinese Communist Party set a model for the growth of a Vietnamese Communist movement in the 1930's. The rise of Ho Chi-minh illustrates this trend. Both the French and Soviet Communist movements and Chiang Kai-shek's Whampoa Military Academy were in his background.

By the time the Chinese Communists came to power in 1949, they were in an even better position to give the Vietnamese the encouragement of example. Vietminh patriots of the united front were trained to fight against the French in the sanctuary of South China. When the People's Republic of North Vietnam eventually emerged in 1954 after the defeat of France, it was indebted to Chinese help but, most of all, to the Chinese Communist example.

Today in South Vietnam, the "people's war of liberation" has developed from the Maoist model that took shape in China during the struggle against the Nationalists and the Japanese. Mao's formula is to take power through a centralized Leninist party that claims to represent the people.

This begins with establishing a territorial base or "liberated area," inaccessible and defensible. From this base, the party organizers can recruit idealists and patriots in the villages and create an indoctrinated secret organization. Once under way, this organization can begin to use sabotage and terrorism to destroy the government's position in the villages and mobilize the population for guerrilla warfare.

Shooting down unpopular landlords or government administrators has a wide "demonstration effect." When guerrilla warfare has reached a certain level, it can escalate to fielding regular armies, strangling the cities and completing the takeover.

One appeal of this Maoist model is its do-it-yourself quality. The organizing procedure is carried out by local people with only a minimum influx of trained returnees and essential arms. The whole technique cannot be understood apart from the local revolutionary ardor that inspires the movement.

PRINCIPLE OF STRUGGLE

In China today, we confront a revolution still at full tide, an effort to remake the society by remaking its people. Chairman Mao spreads a mystique that man can overcome any obstacle, that the human spirit can triumph over material situations.

For 15 years with unremitting intensity, the people have been exhorted to have faith in the Chinese Communist Party and the ideas of Mao Tse-tung. With this has gone a doctrinaire righteousness that has beaten down all dissent and claimed with utmost self-confidence to know the "laws of history."

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Mao's revolution puts great stress on the principal of struggle. The class struggle has made history. Each individual must struggle against his own bourgeois nature. China must struggle against Khrushchevian revisionism. The whole world must struggle against imperialism led by the United States.

Out of all this struggle among the 700 million Chinese has come a totalitarian state manipulated largely by suasion. Individuals work upon themselves in the process of thought reform, criticizing their own attitudes. Residential groups maintain surveillance on one another, as children do on their parents, as part of their national duty.

Terror is kept in the background. Conformity through a manipulated "voluntarism" fills the foreground. No such enormous mass of people has ever been so organized. The spirit of the organization continues to be highly militant.

The sources of China's revolutionary militancy are plain enough in Chinese history. The Chinese Communist regime is only the latest phase in a process of decline and fall followed by rebirth and reassertion of national power.

China's humiliation under the "unequal treaties" of the 19th century lasted for 100 years. An empire that had traditionally been superior to all others in its world was not only humbled but threatened with extinction. Inevitably, China's great tradition of unity, as the world's greatest state in size and continuity, was reassured.

In this revival, many elements from the past have been given new life: the tradition of leadership by an elite who are guardians of a true teaching, the idea of China as a model for others to emulate.

Because the Chinese Empire had kept its foreign relations in the guise of tribute down to the late 19th century, China has had little experience in dealing with equal allies or with a concert of equal powers and plural sovereignties. Chairman Mao could look up to Comrade Stalin. He could only look down on Comrade Khrushchev. An equal relationship has little precedent in Chinese experience.

EARLY SOPHISTICATION

Because China has been a separate and distinctive area of civilization, isolated in east Asia, the Chinese people today have a very different political heritage from the rest of the world. The most remarkable thing about China's political history is the early maturity of the sociopolitical order.

The ancient Chinese Government became more sophisticated, at an earlier date, than any regime in the West. Principles and methods worked out before the time of Christ held the Chinese empire together down to the 20th century. The fact that this imperial system eventually grew out of date in comparison with the modern West should not obscure its earlier maturity.

As in her scientific discoveries and technology, China's inventions in government put her well ahead of Europe by the time Marco Polo saw the Chinese scene in the 13th century. Perhaps this early Chinese advancement came from the continuity of the Chinese effort at government, carried on in the same area century after century and dealing with the same problems until they were mastered.

In contrast, Western civilization grew up with a broader base geographically and culturally, but this very diversity of origins and the geographical shift from the Mediterranean to Western Europe may have delayed the maturing of Western institutions.

Thus the ancient Chinese had a chance to concentrate on the problem of social order, staying in the same place and working it out over the centuries. Their solution began with the observation that the order of nature is not egalitarian but hierarchic.

Adults are stronger than children, husbands than wives. Age is wiser than youth. Men are not equally endowed: "Some labor with their minds and govern others; some labor with their muscles and are governed by others." This commonsense, antiegalitarian approach tried to fit everyone in his place in a graded pyramid of social roles.

At the top of everything was the Chinese ruler, whose virtuous example commanded the respect and obedience of all beholders. The Chinese monarchy institutionalized the idea of universal kingship atop the human pyramid. The emperor functioned as military leader, power holder, and ethical preceptor at the apex of every social activity.

An able emperor would recruit the best talent, use men in the right jobs, render the legal decisions and even set the style of connoisseurship in art while carrying out the sacrifices to heaven and superintending all aspects of official conduct. The monarchy became omniscient, not equaled by any other human institution.

Even before the Chinese unification of 221 B.C., ancient administrators had worked out the basic principles of bureaucratic government. They selected for their ability a professional group of paid officials who were given overall responsibility in fixed areas, instructed and supervised through official correspondence and rotated in office. The Chinese Empire thus very early embodied the essentials of bureaucracy which the Europeans arrived at only in modern times.

One of the great inventions of Chinese Government was the examination system based on the Confucian classics. It produced an indoctrinated elite who could either provide local leadership as holders of imperial degrees or else could be appointed to official posts and carry on administration anywhere at a distance from the capital. In either case, the products of the examination system, versed in the classical principles of government, were supporters of orthodoxy and authority on established lines.

Other innovations, like the censors who functioned as a separate supervisory echelon, added to the devices of Chinese "statecraft." Chinese Government also used the family system, confirming the special status of parents and elders over the young and of men over women.

ANOTHER INVENTION

As the Chinese sociopolitical order matured and grew, its influence radiated outward over the "Chinese culture area." Because China was the center of civilization in east Asia, it served as the model for smaller states like Korea and Vietnam, whose rulers naturally became subordinate to the Chinese Emperor. The hierarchic relationship was expressed in the tribute system already noted.

But the rise of nomadic warriors like the Mongols on the grasslands of inner Asia posed a new problem, for they were non-Chinese in culture and yet their military capacity enabled them to invade north China and eventually conquer the whole empire. The result was another Chinese political invention under which it became possible for powerful non-Chinese peoples to participate in Chinese political life.

This they did either as allies and subordinates of strong Chinese rulers or, in case of Chinese weakness, as the actual rulers of China itself. Thus the ancient Chinese empire again showed its political sophistication. Invaders who could not be defeated were admitted to the power structure. The Mongols in the 13th to 19th centuries could even seize the imperial power, but they had no alternative to ruling China in the old Chinese fashion.

When Westerners arrived on China's borders in early modern times, they also began to participate in the Chinese power structure. They were generally given status as tribu-

taries and until 1840 were kept under control on the frontier.

Thereafter, under the so-called unequal treaty system, the Westerners had to be allowed to participate in the Government of China. This they did with special privileges in treaty ports protected by their gunboats and under their own consuls' extraterritorial jurisdiction. In its beginning, this 19th century treaty system followed Chinese tradition.

PICKED AND CHOSE

Eventually, of course, Western contact brought in new ideas which undermined the old Chinese order, but not all the new ideas of modern times were wholly accepted. Christianity found only a limited following. Ideas of the sacred rights of the individual and the supremacy of law were not taken over. China picked and chose what it wanted to accept from the West.

Scientific technology and nationalism were in time taken as foundations of economic and political change. But Western-style republicanism and the election process did not take hold. As a political device to take the place of dynastic rule, the Chinese eventually accepted Leninist party dictatorship. On this basis, the Kuomintang rose to power in the 1920's.

Later, the Communist success established the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism and techniques of Soviet totalitarianism and industrialization. The Sino-Soviet split now represents a triumph for hypernationalism geared to a revolutionary faith.

Even a brief sketch of the historical experiences of the Chinese people indicates their cultural differences from the West. Some of these inherited differences have been selected and reinforced by the new totalitarian rulers.

Chinese tradition is, of course, very broad. It affords examples of a Confucian type of individualism and defiance of state control. Some day these examples may be invoked for democratic purposes, but that time has not yet come.

Today we see these cultural differences affecting the status of the Chinese individual. The old idea of hierarchic order persists. "Enemies" of the new order, as defined by it, are classed as not belonging to "the people" and so are of lowest status. On the other hand, party members form a new elite, and one man is still at the top of the pyramid. The tradition of government supremacy and domination by the official class still keeps ordinary people in their place.

The law, for example, is still an administrative tool used in the interest of the state; it does not protect the individual. This reflects the commonsense argument that the interest of the whole outweighs that of any part or person, and so the individual still has no established doctrine of rights to fall back upon.

As in the old days, the letter of the law remains uncertain and its application arbitrary. The defense of the accused is not assured, the judiciary is not independent, confession is expected and litigation is frowned upon as a way of resolving conflicts. Compared with American society, the law plays a very minor role.

The difference between Chinese and American values and institutions stand out most sharply in the standards for personal conduct. The term for individualism in Chinese (*ko-jen-chu-i*) is a modern phrase invented for a foreign idea, using characters that suggest each-for-himself, a chaotic selfishness rather than a high ideal. Individualism is thus held in as little esteem as it was under the Confucian order.

The difference is that where young people were formerly dominated by their families, who for example arranged their marriages, now they have largely given up a primary loyalty to family and substituted a loyalty

to the Party or "the people." In both cases, the highest ideal is sacrifice for the collective good.

Similarly, the modern term for freedom (tzu-yu) is a modern combination of characters suggesting a spontaneous or willful lack of discipline, very close to license and quite contrary to the Chinese ideal of disciplined cooperation.

The cultural gap is shown also by the Chinese attitude toward philanthropy. Giving things to others is of course highly valued where specific relations call for it, as when the individual contributes to the collective welfare of family, clan or community. But the Christian virtue of philanthropy in the abstract, giving to others as a general duty, quite impersonally, runs into a different complex of ideas.

Between individuals, there should be reciprocity in a balanced relationship. To receive without giving in return puts one at a serious disadvantage: one is unable to hold up one's side of the relationship and therefore loses self-respect.

American philanthropy thus hurts Chinese pride. It has strings of conscience attached to it. The Communist spurning of foreign aid and touting of self-sufficiency fits the traditional sense of values. American aid does not.

CRITICS ARE ENEMIES

Cultural differences emerge equally in the area of politics. In the Chinese tradition, government is by persons who command obedience by the example they set of right conduct. When in power, an emperor or a ruling party has a monopoly of leadership which is justified by its performance, particularly by the wisdom of its policies. No abstract distinction is made between the person in power and his policies.

Dissent which attacks policies is felt to be an attack on the policymaker. On this basis, no "loyal opposition" is possible. The Western concept of disputing a powerholder's policies while remaining loyal to his institutional status is not intelligible to the Chinese. Critics are seen as enemies, for they discredit those in power and tear down the prestige by which their power is partially maintained. (This idea also crops up in Taiwan.)

Another difference emerges over the idea of self-determination. This commonplace of Western political thinking sanctions the demand of a definable group in a certain area, providing they can work it out, to achieve an independent state by common consent among themselves. This idea runs quite counter to the traditional idea of the Chinese realm that embraces all who are culturally Chinese within a single entity.

Thus the rival Chinese regimes today are as one in regarding Taiwan as part of the mainland. Both want to control both areas. Similarly, they are agreed that Tibet is part of the Chinese realm without regard for self-determination. A supervised plebiscite would seem so humiliating that no Chinese regime would permit it.

Both the Chinese party dictatorships of modern times are also believers in elitism and opponents of the election process, except as a minor device for confirming local popular acquiescence in the regime.

Elections on the mainland are manipulated by the party. Taiwan has developed a genuine election process at the local level, but the old idea of party "tutelage" is far from dead at the top. Here again, a case can be made for the Chinese practice. Our point is merely its difference from that of the West.

AN ANCIENT DEVICE

Perhaps the most strikingly different political device is that of mutual responsibility, the arrangement whereby a designated group is held responsible in all its members for the conduct of each. This idea goes far back

in Chinese history as a device for controlling populous villages.

At first, 5-household groups, and later, 10-household groups, were designated by the officials, 10 such lower groups forming a unit at a higher level with the process repeated until 1,000 households formed a single group. In operation this system means that one member of a household is held accountable for the acts of all other members, one household holds for the acts of its neighbors and so on up the line.

This motivates mutual surveillance and reciprocal control, with neighbor spying on neighbor and children informing on parents. Communist China uses this ancient device today in its street committees and other groups. It directly denies the Western idea of judging a man by his intentions and condemning him only for his own acts.

Cultural differences lay the powder train for international conflict. China and America can see each other as "backward" and "evil," deserving destruction. We need to objectify such differences, see our own values in perspective and understand if not accept the values of others.

Understanding an opponent's values also helps us deal with him. The old Chinese saying is, "If you know yourself and know your enemy, in a hundred battles you will win a hundred times."

All this applies to our present dilemma in Vietnam, where our military helicopter technology is attempting to smash the Maoist model of "peoples' war." We face a dilemma: Appeasement may only encourage the militancy of our opponents, yet vigorous resistance may pose a challenge that increases their militancy. Fighting tends to escalate.

One line of approach, quite aside from military effort, should seek to undermine the militancy of our opponents. Why not pay more attention to their motivation and try to manipulate it? Having seen how Mao-Tse-tung has manipulated Khrushchev and Chiang Kai-shek has manipulated us, can we not do some manipulating ourselves?

There are several elements to use. One is China's enormous national pride, the feeling in Peiping that this largest and oldest of countries naturally deserves a top position in the world. In the background lies the fact that China was indeed at the top of the known world for more than 3,000 years of its recorded history. The Chinese attitude of cultural superiority is deeprooted and still plays a part in foreign contact.

A second element is the need of any Chinese regime for prestige. Peiping rules an incredibly vast mass of people by means of an enormous and farflung bureaucracy. The prestige of the leadership and the morale of the populace and bureaucracy are intertwined. The rulers must seek by all means to bolster their public image, show themselves successful and make good their claims to wisdom and influence.

For 16 years Peiping has buttressed its prestige by attacking "American imperialism," but its need for prestige is more basic than any particular target of attack. Are there other ways to strengthen itself than by denouncing and "struggling against" the biggest overseas power?

Another element is the converse of the above—the accumulated fatigue of revolution. Chairman Mao's exhortations to continued struggle and austerity betray his lively fear lest the new generation grow tired of "permanent revolution." His eventual successors may respond differently to opportunities abroad.

Finally, there are the concrete problems of the Chinese state, it needs for foreign capital goods and food supplies, needs that may grow.

A program to take advantage of these elements, recognizing the realities of cultural difference, would seek to enlarge Peiping's

international contact and work out a greater role and responsibility for China's rulers in the world outside. Many express this in wishful terms—"If only China would join the international world." Realists point out Peiping's reiterated refusal to do so on any feasible terms.

What I am advocating here is not a single gesture but a continuing program, not an alternative to present policies but an addition to them. It is too simple to say that one cannot oppose an avowed enemy on one front while also making an accommodation with him on other fronts. On the contrary, this is what diplomacy is all about.

The whole idea of manipulation is to use both pressure and persuasion, both toughness and reasonableness, stick and carrot, with an objective calculation of the opponent's motives and needs. This is not foreign to President Johnson's thinking.

A MOUSETRAP POLICY

What conclusion emerges from a survey of China's revolutionary history and the cultural differences that separate us?

First, we are up against a dynamic opponent whose strident anti-Americanism will not soon die away. It comes from China's long background of feeling superior to all outsiders and expecting a supreme position in the world, which we seem to thwart.

Second, we have little alternative but to stand up to Peiping's grandiose demands. Yet a containment policy which is only military, and nothing more, can mousetrap us into war with China. Our present fighting to frustrate the Maoist model in Vietnam is a stopgap, not a long-term policy.

We should add to this policy, and if possible substitute for it a more sophisticated diplomatic program to undermine China's militancy by getting her more involved in formal international contact of all kinds and on every level.

The point of this is psychological: Peiping is, to say the least, maladjusted, rebellious against the whole outer world, Russia as well as America. We are Peiping's principal enemy because we happen now to be the biggest outside power trying to foster world stability.

But do we have to play Mao's game? Must we carry the whole burden of resisting Peiping's pretensions? Why not let others in on the jobs?

A Communist China seated in the U.N. could no longer pose as a martyr excluded by "American imperialism." She would have to deal with U.N. members on concrete issues, playing politics in addition to attempting subversion (which sometimes backfires).

She would have to face the self-interest of other countries and learn to act as a full member of international society for the first time in history. This is the only way for China to grow up and eventually accept restraints on her revolutionary ardor.

SLIPPERY ECONOMIC ANALYSIS

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, on Tuesday night the Columbia Broadcasting Co. in its "CBS Reports" program carried an hour-long show entitled "IOU \$315 Billion."

Throughout this analysis of the individual debt that Americans owe I felt that there were several economic statistical and philosophical omissions in the CBS report. However, in Wednesday morning's New York Times, H. Erich Heinemann, writing a review of the show, very succinctly touched on the major points that should have been at least mentioned.

I think the New York Times review of "CBS Reports: IOU \$315 Billion" should

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have wider dissemination. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that the review be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, Mar. 16, 1966]

TV: "CBS REPORTS" EYES I O U'S AND IS SHOCKED—NETWORK'S CONCLUSION: "IT COSTS TOO MUCH"—SOME STATISTICS REST ON A DUBIOUS BASIS

"CBS Reports" took an hour-long look at the role of individual debt in the American economy last night, and came to the not-too-surprising conclusion that the consumer needs to be protected from his own improvidence.

"Interest rates are higher than they need to be;

"The people who need credit the most find it hardest to get on terms they can afford;

"The patchwork of State and Federal regulations tends to favor the lender over the borrower;

"We would be on a sounder basis if people had a more accurate idea of the cost of credit."

All these conclusions, stated at the end of "I O U \$315 billion" by Alexander Kendrick, are surely estimable. "CBS Reports" should be pleased with its firm stand against sin.

Less estimable, however, is some of the slippery economic analysis the Columbia Broadcasting System uses to reach this conclusion. Mr. Kendrick lays much stress upon the "mountain of debt" under which the American consumer is laboring. But he does not mention the value of the assets that the consumer owns, which far exceeds the \$315 billion that he owes.

Mr. Kendrick puts much emphasis upon the heavy interest cost of total consumer debt. But he does not mention that in the fourth quarter of 1965 Americans were earning interest at the annual rate of \$38.2 billion, while they were paying interest at the annual rate of only \$11.6 billion.

Indeed, this latter point cuts to the core of the central criticism of "I O U \$315 billion." Mr. Kendrick, and his editors at CBS have chosen to focus upon the aggregate of \$315 billion, of which more than two-thirds is accounted for by mortgages on real estate—including more than \$20 billion of debt on farm properties, which is essentially commercial.

Mr. Kendrick did not bother to tell us that well over half of total mortgage debt is held by nonprofit mutual financial institutions, which are owned by those who have entrusted their savings to them.

Thrift, Mr. Kendrick to the contrary notwithstanding, has not gone out of style.

Nor has the credit card brought us to the verge of a cashless society. Mr. Kendrick might be interested to know that an important preoccupation of the Nation's monetary authorities has been to try to explain why currency in circulation has been increasing more rapidly in recent years than has personal income.

So far, no simple answer has been found.

It is perfectly true, as "CBS Reports" maintains that the improvident and the feckless in American society are preyed upon by the demimonde of the credit world.

There is good reason to be alarmed at the sharply rising rate of personal bankruptcies, and at the steady climb in the rate of foreclosures on home mortgages.

But there is no easy economic transition from the steady and necessary growth in consumer debt to the inflationary problems that are confronting the economy, though Mr. Kendrick seemed to have little trouble in making that step.

Undoubtedly, some remedial legislation would be helpful in the consumer credit field.

But there is serious question whether Senator PAUL DOUGLAS' "truth-in-lending" bill which obviously has delighted CBS, despite its many legal, administrative, and indeed constitutional problems, would prove a panacea.

We should not lose sight of the fact that debt, however onerous, is the other face of credit, which is the reward of thrift.

H. ERICH HEINEMANN.

WEST VIRGINIA SKI INDUSTRY UNDER STUDY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the Economic Development Administration has recently approved \$72,300 for a technical assistance study to determine the ski industry potential in West Virginia. This study, requested by the West Virginia Department of Commerce, offers hope that a new source of recreation and pleasure may be developed for winter sports enthusiasts. The ski industry in the Mountain State is still in a fledgling state, with a number of problems needing resolving.

Because of interest on the part of West Virginia sports lovers, and that of surrounding urbanites in neighboring States, that the ski industry be developed, this grant is being enthusiastically welcomed.

A recent newspaper article by Roger Morris, carried by the Sunday Gazette-Mail State magazine, Charleston, W. Va., relates the interest which is increasingly being manifested in this sport. Its title is "Little Switzerland—Without the Snow."

I ask unanimous consent that this March 13 newspaper article be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LITTLE SWITZERLAND—WITHOUT THE SNOW (By Roger Morris)

Skiers ask, "What good is a mountain in a winter that forgets to include snow?"

"It is an ill wind turns none to good," wrote Thomas Tusser back in the 16th century. If we may substitute the word "foul" for "ill," then we have an accurate description of the state of affairs in Charleston and this section of the Kanawha Valley.

While none can doubt that the wind over Charleston would turn the stomach of the stanchest fishmonger and by comparison make Liggett & Myers a clean air research group, the chemical industries which produce this enriched assortment of smokes and stenches as a public byproduct have blown a little fresh air into the city's insularity by way of their cosmopolitan personnel.

This has resulted in their contribution in the arts, government, and social concerns as patrons, performers, and planners. Often when persons of a different background cannot find facilities in a new town to further their avocational interests, they are either forced to quit the area (as was the case with scientists at the radio observatory at Green Bank) or else bring the mountain to Mo-hammed.

This was the dilemma of some ski enthusiasts of recent European extraction whose jobs were relocated here and who quickly found out that the State's nickname of "Little Switzerland of America" was a misnomer as far as winter sports facilities were concerned.

Together with some native residents, the ski buffs joined in 1956 to form the Kanawha

Ski Club to see what might be done to keep their interests in slopes from declining. Ten years later and after some initial floundering, the Kanawha Ski Club has close to 100 members whose main concern during the winter months is to get out of the offices and birch-paneled kitchens as soon as possible on Friday afternoon and head for the nearest ski slope.

As a matter of fact, about 38 of them are at this moment out on the slope or engaged in some ski lodge chatter at the Seven Springs skiing area in Pennsylvania.

"We haven't had too much luck with West Virginia ski slopes," says one club official, "although we have used Bald Knob near Beckley and Weiss Knob near Davis in the past."

The trouble with the three State facilities centers around an absence of snow-making machines, adequate lodge facilities, challenging slopes for advanced skiers and ski lifts.

As a result, the ski club has had to look to weekend trips to Virginia and Pennsylvania, although the State's new recreational complex in the Canaan Valley promises to have good facilities in the next few years.

Quite naturally these excursions furnish the main part of the club's activities, and during the past season—a bad one as such things go—three such trips were made, two to Seven Springs and one to the Homestead in Virginia.

"Actually there isn't much of a ski atmosphere at the Homestead," says club vice president, Jae Ryder, "but we go there once a year, because they have different slopes for the different classifications of skiers."

While the outing to Virginia was by car, the two to Seven Springs were by chartered bus, a method which allows the older members to become acquainted with the novices. Although in some circles and in some resorts, skiing is very much a rich man's sport, the Kanawha club tries to keep expenses at a minimum so that everyone can join in the fun—skiing for the masses, so to speak. On Pennsylvania trips, for example, roundtrip bus fare, two nights' lodging, three meals, a dance, and the skiing facilities were provided for about \$40. Rental equipment is another \$6.

Most of the rest of the club's activities are conducted during the regular meetings at a member's home, which includes ski movies and slides of previous trips. In addition, an annual cocktail party is held in April or May, a sneaky way to get everyone together to pay dues.

Club members range in age from pre-teens to over 60 and in ability from non-skiers to advanced skiers. As the Kanawha Ski Club is a member of the Blue Ridge Ski Council, members have the opportunity to go skiing in Europe at reduced travel rates, a proposition that some have already accepted.

Ryder says that several plans are being made for next year, plus a request to the weatherman to have enough fall snow to insure a couple of trips before New Year's Day. Among these will be at least one each to the Homestead and Seven Springs and—cross your ski poles—possibly one to Michigan.

Another idea that is being considered is to enlarge the meaning of "ski" (in the club name) to include water skiing as well as snow skiing. Under this proposal, the group would have year-round continuity and activity, as members could shed their sweaters for swim suits and ski on liquid rather than frozen water. In addition, water skiing facilities on both rivers and lakes are more readily available in the Charleston area than are their mountainous counterparts.

But the big-daddy project is to get a small practice slope in operation in the Charleston area. The club already has a rope tow and is looking into the possibility of obtaining or using some land north of Charleston near the old Guthrie Air Force Base. Whether this

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has an annual payroll of some \$15 million, and is well along with an expansion program that creates an even brighter picture for the future.

We extend our congratulations to Chas. Pfizer & Co., Inc., upon being named the recipient of this year's Charter Award. On the basis of its high degree of business success, its accomplishments in its various fields of endeavor and its service to the public, it is not difficult to understand why the firm has been selected for the honor bestowed on it by St. Francis College. Southeastern Connecticut is indeed fortunate to be the site of a plant that is making a sizable contribution to the overall progress of this thriving industrial complex.

THE ATLANTIC CONCEPT UNDER TEST

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, next week the Subcommittee on International Organization Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will be holding hearings on the concept of Atlantic unity. Two recent moves by the President of France, Gen. Charles de Gaulle, openly challenge this concept. John Allan May, European economic correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, has recently reported on some of the implications of these developments.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ATLANTIC CONCEPT UNDER TEST

(By John Allan May)

LONDON.—The Atlantic idea is rapidly approaching a crucial test. Fresh French moves to torpedo it are expected here.

The British have drafted a communique which they hope will be signed by the 14 other partners condemning France's withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Britain, through diplomatic channels, also is repeating its intention never to join Europe except on terms that preserve the Atlantic concept. This is to be stressed particularly strongly in Bonn.

The Atlantic idea, of course, is of an integrated alliance between the United States, Canada, Britain, and Western Europe, standing as a single bastion against international communism.

It now is openly challenged by President de Gaulle on two fronts—in NATO and in the world of the International Monetary Fund.

Some strategic analysis here say that President de Gaulle's aim is to create a third force that would be independent of the United States and capable of reaching an understanding with the Soviet Union. That understanding can contain—"hold within fixed limits: restrain"—the two Germanys, East and West.

VISIT TO MOSCOW

Due to visit Moscow in June, the French President aims to sell this idea to the Soviet chiefs, according to this analysis. The Soviets, too, might be prepared to cooperate.

[The French viewpoint, on the other hand is somewhat different. It is that France will remain the "ally of her allies" and a member of the Western alliance. But General de Gaulle insists that the NATO integrated command is outdated because of changed defense needs. Therefore, he has said, France and Europe must be free of this integration in order to be more flexible in establishing contacts with the Communist nations of Europe.

[French Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville told the United Nations General Assembly last fall: "Since the division of Germany is born of the division of Europe, the prerequisite condition for the elimination of one is the elimination of the other. This means a profound and necessarily gradual transformation of the present situation."]

The "third force" theory here is that reorganization of NATO, and of the standing group in Washington, is going to spotlight the special position of West Germany. Germany will become the strongest European member of NATO. It stands in NATO's frontline.

Can this Germany be denied an equal share in the planning of NATO strategy? Can it be denied an equal share in nuclear arms? Surely not.

But, on the other hand, will the Soviet Union allow such an upgrading of West Germany's status to go without a challenge? Surely not either.

A fresh Soviet-American confrontation would then be expected if West Germany were upgraded.

Nor is Britain prepared to allow a German "finger on the nuclear button." Thus the effect of President de Gaulle's squeeze play could spread, according to this theory. He intends, if he can, to accentuate the one important area of division between the views of the American and the British administrations.

At the same time, as the world has seen but perhaps not much noticed, President de Gaulle has vetoed an Atlantic solution to the international monetary problem. His insistence on gold as the essential basis of the world's payments system seems to be a tactic in a battle to "get the American dollar out of Europe."

PAWTUCKET, R.I., CONFERENCE OF WATER SHORTAGE AND POLLUTION CONTROL

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, at 10:30 this morning, Mayor Robert Burns, of the city of Pawtucket, R.I., called to order a conference held in that city, to discuss the various aspects of water shortages and water pollution control. A subject which has vital importance to Rhode Island as well as the whole Northeastern section of our country, as we enter what could be a fifth year of drought.

The conference, which will include officials from many Rhode Island cities and towns, met with my enthusiastic approval, when the subject was first broached by Mayor Burns. I am pleased to have been able to arrange attendance at the meeting by Mr. Edward V. Geismar, Chief of the Water Quality Section of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Mr. Geismar, a highly regarded expert in the field of water pollution, will discuss both the causes of this problem, and the means of clearing it up.

Conferences such as this, are valuable both on the local and national levels. One city, or one area, working alone, cannot meet the problem of pollution control. Concerted effort is needed by all the communities affected. In this specific case, those cities and towns in the Blackstone River Valley, are working and studying together. It is hoped that the example of Pawtucket will be followed by many other areas with the same type of problem.

I therefore salute the city of Pawtucket, and Mayor Burns, for having the foresight and initiative to call such a meeting, and wish the conferees success.

J UTAH PILOT HERO OF A SHAU EVACUATION

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, 1 week ago today, Maj. Bernard Fisher, an Air Force pilot, who was born and raised in Clearfield, Utah, distinguished himself as one of the real heroes of the Vietnam war. Major Fisher was piloting an A1E aircraft on a fighter-bomber mission during the crucial battle of U.S. Army Special Forces camp at A Shau, 50 miles west of Danang, South Vietnam, when he spotted a fellow pilot shot down by enemy ground fire. Without thinking of his own safety, Major Fisher landed his Skyraider aircraft on a bomb-scarred runway which was under heavy enemy fire, and literally plucked his fellow officer up by the seat of his pants and flew him to safety.

The rescued officer, Air Force Maj. Stafford M. Myers, had nothing but praise for the heroic efforts of Major Fisher.

Myers said:

In my fondest dreams, I didn't believe anybody would land there to pull me out, not even a chopper.

Another Air Force officer was later quoted as saying:

This is the most daring rescue I have heard of since World War II. I can't think of anything we did in Korea to match it.

Mr. President, I applaud the valiant efforts of Major Fisher and those of hundreds of other U.S. servicemen who daily are distinguishing themselves in battle in Vietnam. We should all the grateful for this courage and devotion to duty. I am confident that Major Fisher's heroic deed will not go unnoticed, either by his fellow servicemen, or by his Government.

I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD a UPI news story which appeared in the March 11, 1966, Salt Lake Deseret News, and an editorial from the Standard Examiner, Ogden, Utah, dated March 12, 1966.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Salt Lake Deseret News, Mar. 11, 1966]

DYNAMIC RESCUE: "NOTHING LIKE IT"

SAIGON.—"I'll bet nobody's ever seen an old man like me run like that," said U.S. Air Force Maj. Stafford M. Myers, as he recalled Friday how a fellow pilot rescued him under fire when he was shot down Thursday.

Maj. Bernard F. Fisher, 39, a native of Utah and whose wife and family reside at Kuna, Idaho, flew his A1E fighter-bomber through a hall of Communist ground fire and landed behind Myers during the battle at the U.S. Army Special Forces camp at A Shau, 50 miles west of Da Nang.

Myers, also 39, had crashlanded his own plane on the short dirt runway near the camp after being hit by enemy fire.

Myers' Skyraider was enveloped in flames as he hit the runway. The cockpit filled with smoke. He dived into the nearest ditch, only yards away from Communist gunners firing at other U.S. aircraft that were strafing the area around the besieged camp.

"In my fondest dreams I didn't believe anybody would land there to pull me out, not even a chopper," Myers said.

He said his eyes smarted from the smoke as he looked for cover, but then he saw Fisher's Skyraider roaring down the runway.

The downed pilot waved, and Fisher spotted him. It took him another 100 feet to stop his plane.

"He's crazy," Myers said he thought. "He shouldn't have done it. We'll never get out of here."

Myers leaped from the ditch and ran for his life. He reached the Skyraider, but "had a hard time getting up on the wing" because of the blast from the propeller.

Finally Fisher "pulled me up by the seat of the pants," he said. There was no time to talk, but Myers patted Fisher on the back a couple of times as the major gunned the plane. And hugged him as they taxied down the bomb-scarred runway.

Myers noticed that the plane's wing was full of holes, but somehow the Korean vintage plane held together as Fisher flew out of danger.

One Air Force officer later said "This is the most daring rescue I have heard of since World War II. I can't think of anything we did in Korea to match it."

Fisher gave a lot of credit for the dare-devil rescue to the other three A1E pilots who were strafing the area all around Myers' downed Skyraider.

One Vietcong closed to within 20 feet of Myers as the Air Force major sprinted for the rescue aircraft. He was cut down by a burst from one of the Skyraiders swooping across the field at tree-top level.

[From the Ogden Standard-Examiner, Mar. 12, 1966]

UTAHAN BECOMES TOP VIET WAR HERO

The war in Vietnam, grim from the start, has produced few headlines about individual acts of heroism.

All men fighting and dying there are heroes in their own right. It's that kind of a war.

What we mean, however, is the type of exploit that fires the imagination and makes an American say: "That took a lot of guts."

That's what they're saying today about Utah-born Maj. Bernard Fisher.

He deliberately landed his old Skyraider propeller-driven fighter on the battered airstrip of the Shau Special Forces Camp, picked up a fellow pilot who had survived a crash and took off again while Vietcong troops fired at him.

Other Air Force fighter pilots helped the rescue by coming in low machinegunning enemy soldiers who were trying to stop Fisher and his passenger, Maj. Stafford M. Myers.

Fisher and Myers got away.

It's that type of bravery that inspires other fighting men to go all-out in service to their country.

It should be equally inspirational to we civilians at home.

If a pilot like Bernard Fisher is willing to brave the Communist guns to save the life of another U.S. aviator, the least we can do is to show appreciation for the risk he took.

Contrast this with the burning of a draft card or the ranting of Cassius Clay.

The Air Force should be mighty proud of Major Fisher.

So should the high school in Kaysville where he was graduated before he joined the Navy in World War II.

We know that his mother, Mrs. Levina Fisher of Ogden, is mighty proud of her filer son. So is his wife, now living in Kunia, Idaho, and his brothers and sisters in Ogden, Clearfield, South Weber and Boise.

Next time he's home on leave, we should proclaim a Maj. Bernard Fisher Day in Utah. He deserves to know, in person, how his fellow Utahans feel about his bravery.

RENDEZVOUS IN SPACE—ASTRONAUTS NEIL ARMSTRONG AND DAVID SCOTT

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, the Nation and the space effort experienced one of its most anxious and exciting days on Wednesday, which culminated in the safe landing of Astronauts Neil Armstrong and David Scott.

They achieved a historic link-up in space, which was amazingly accurate with regard to rendezvous and docking maneuvers.

Unfortunately, the trip was only partially successful, and Astronauts Armstrong and Scott were put through some dangerously trying moments while they and the world held their breaths in fear of their safety. We rejoice with their families that, thankfully, they are in good health.

Their efforts under the direction of Flight Commander Armstrong demonstrated the importance of the extensive training and simulation which is so essential a part of our space program. Their courage and performance under stress also is a tribute to the design of the spacecraft and the training they have received, which involves the checking and rechecking and simulation of every detail of their prospective voyage into space. Yesterday America proved the value of building redundancy into our space vehicles because of our paramount regard for life.

Among the marvels of Wednesday's excitement was their unscheduled reentry, which was in every respect perfect and perhaps the best reentry the United States ever has accomplished.

While the rendezvous was only partially successful, it may prove that we will learn more from failure than from success in this instance as the voyage is studied and the data separated and analyzed and used to strengthen our future space ventures.

The Soviets were also busy in space on Wednesday. They completed a 22-day flight of two dogs, and this accomplishment indicates that we cannot slacken our efforts in space if we are to maintain leadership and progress in this field.

Mr. President, I also must observe that while these exciting events were taking place in different parts of this solar system, another milestone was reached in a remote section of the desert in my State of Nevada. I refer to the highly successful test of a nuclear engine at the Nevada Test Site of the Atomic Energy Commission. The engine was operated at significant power for 18 minutes, 13 minutes of which was conducted at full power. This achievement added to our national capability of one day being ready to send vehicles and man beyond the moon, and perhaps even beyond our own solar system. For it is commonly recognized now that nuclear power will be the only energy to take man to targets beyond our immediate planning.

In summary, Wednesday was a lucky day for two courageous American astronauts; it was a day not without significance for the Soviets in their space efforts; and it was a day fraught with meaning for our nuclear space effort which is certain to become more important as our program moves ahead.

THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN EDUCATION

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the American people have taxed themselves heavily at the local level to provide high-quality education, but still additional revenues are needed. During the past decade Federal programs affecting public schools have increased in number and scope. This trend reflects a changed national posture toward the importance of education at the national level. "The Role of the Federal Government in Education" was the subject of an address by James A. Turman, Associate Commissioner for Field Services, U.S. Office of Education, before a joint meeting of the Idaho School Trustees Association and State legislators on February 26, 1966. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have Mr. Turman's fine address printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN EDUCATION

(An address by James A. Turman, Associate Commissioner of Education for Field Services, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.)

Unfortunately, neither our new U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe nor our Associate Commissioner for Federal-State Relations Wayne Reed could accept this engagement this morning because of prior commitments. Therefore, Mr. John Snider invited me to represent the U.S. Office of Education here in today's conference on the subject, "What Are the Proper Roles of Federal, State, and Local Educational Agencies?"

It is a pleasure for me, however, to have this opportunity to participate with you in discussing this all-encompassing topic. My assignment, mainly, is to discuss the role of the Federal Government in education.

I am especially pleased to see that this is a joint meeting of the Idaho School Trustees Association and the State legislators. Having been a member and speaker of the Texas House of Representatives, I realize the importance of involving legislators in our discussions on education.

There are some perfectly decent words that nice Americans seldom use together in the same phrase. "Education" and "politics" are two of them. While each word is quite alright on its own, the two in combination seem to conjure unhealthy, unreined, even "propagandizing" images to many people.

Actually, the notion that politics and education should not have anything to do with each other is based on a misunderstanding both of politics and of the role of education in a democracy and how that role is determined. And the idea that they do not have anything to do with each other flies up in the face of the facts.

Public education is paid for by public funds, and public funds are raised, and allocated, through the political process. Through this process, the community—as small as the township, as large as the Nation—decides both the total amount it is prepared to spend for a host of public benefits, and how the total amount will be split up among all of them. In short, the political forum is where the citizenry fights about the things it cares about; it is where the public assigns priorities and establishes its values in rank order.

Not everyone comprehends this trading out of interests in the political marketplace. That is one reason why some political decisions may not in fact reflect accurately the most widely held public values, but do often

as leader in opposition to it this year, although I am still opposed to the amendment, provided the administration will provide for an adequate amount of aid to students who I think ought to go to college. I think it is possible to supply that aid to them on a more uniform and, I happen to believe, a fairer basis than the procedure provided for in the Ribicoff-Dominick amendment. But I could not, in good faith, speak against the amendment until at least there can be a clarification of where this administration actually stands on Federal aid to education. I say that because, as I said the other day, I stood in that managerial position over there in the majority leader's place, and have taken through the Senate, as the manager of education bills, one bill after another. I made the representations that the administration authorized me to make. I wish to say those representations cannot be reconciled with the President's budget message this year.

Mr. DOMINICK. That is the point I wished to bring out at this time, and I am glad that the Senator from Oregon has brought it up. Because, as a matter of fact, in a very great number of cases, to my knowledge—the impacted area bill, the National Defense Education Act loans, the cuts in the vocational education programs, and a few others which I added up last night—the difference between the proposals in the President's budget and the authorizations passed by Congress is more than \$547 million.

I would suggest for the record, and to the distinguished Senator from Oregon, who has worked so hard in the educational field and done such a fine job, that it is not the function of the White House or of Congress to try to balance the budget by depriving people of the opportunity for a good education.

That is exactly the effect these cuts will have, unless we can find some mechanism by which we can retain the ability of our universities to provide quality education, and of our elementary and secondary schools to continue with the fine standard of education that they have been giving our young people.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield.

Mr. MORSE. I could not agree with the Senator more. The Senator is a member of my subcommittee and of the full committee. I simply want the Record to show that in my judgment, this administration has pulled the rug out from under us in connection with the representations we have made in the past, in speaking for the administration in support of education legislation. Until the administration restores those funds—and I shall fight hard to have them restored—and until the administration keeps faith with those of us who have put the past legislation through, I shall oppose the administration at every step on education legislation this year.

I preferred the approach we were making. I think the administration was sound in that approach, but it has left that approach, and that is why I

could not, in good faith, support the administration in its opposition to the Senator's amendment, until the administration is willing to come back and support the program we had underway.

Look at the cuts the administration is making in the land-grant colleges of this country, and the effect that those cuts will have on the educational opportunities of many of our young men and women. I want the American people to know that notwithstanding what the President says, there is a great difference between his words and the proposed actions encompassed in his Bureau of the Budget report to Congress.

I pay no attention to a politician's words unless his words compare and square with his actions.

Mr. DOMINICK. I know what a valiant fighter the Senator from Oregon is, and I think this is due warning to the administration.

It still seems strange to me as a Senator to find that the administration will send to the Capitol two White House aids and the Postmaster General to defeat one bill on which Congress is supposed to be establishing policy. That is exactly what was done in the case of the tax credit proposal that we had before us in March.

I, for one, am still a believer that Congress is supposed to establish policy, that this is not, supposedly, either a one-party government or a one-man government, and until such time as we can establish this proposition and this principle, we are going to find more and more trouble in Congress being able to take its historic role as a policymaker, and to determine what legislation should be passed as desired by the people of this country, and not just as desired by the one man in the White House.

I yield the floor.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, before I turn to another matter, I wish to make a few additional comments about the Ribicoff-Dominick amendment.

I want the record to be perfectly clear that I would much prefer not to have the type of aid that is provided in the Dominick-Ribicoff amendment, if this administration will go forward and support adequate funds for the type of Federal education aid to students in this country which has been encompassed in the programs for which we have been working so hard for so many years in the Senate.

Of course, my view is well known. I think what we need to do is to provide the aid to those students who need it, who otherwise could not go to college. I think children from the families covered in the program that the Senator from Connecticut and the Senator from Colorado have in mind can best be helped by a general aid bill, with loan provisions, scholarship provisions, and work-study provisions. Furthermore, as I pointed out last year, I think that the aid that is sought to be offered in the Ribicoff-Dominick amendment is a form of class legislation, in that it provides tax benefits for a special class of parents in this country, namely those who happen to have children who may wish to go to col-

lege. I do not believe that the amendment embodies that uniform principle of taxation which I think is fair and avoids the charge of being class legislation.

Nevertheless I have no hesitancy in saying that if we cannot have the other type of Federal aid for which I thought this administration stood until I read the budget message this year, then it is better to have this form of aid of the Ribicoff-Dominick amendment than none. At least the aid that will be provided under the Ribicoff-Dominick amendment will be of some assistance to some students, and that is better than no assistance at all.

Therefore, as chairman of the Education Subcommittee of the Senate, I raise my voice again in plea and warning to the President of the United States, that unless there is a return to the implementation of the aid program for which we have been fighting in past sessions of Congress, I shall fight in the Subcommittee on Education and in the full committee for necessary legislative amendments, and let the Members of Congress stand up and be counted, as to whether they will support the President in what I consider to be an inexcusable blow against the young people of this country by way of his budget recommendations on education. That will be my position in this session of Congress. If we get into a position where the only aid we can get—although I do not believe it would be the most preferable aid—for the benefit of the youth of this country is the kind of aid which the Senator from Connecticut, and the Senator from Colorado—in good faith, complete sincerity, and out of deep conviction—have been presenting for several years to the Senate, then, for the first time, I will vote to support it. I would rather have that than no aid at all.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the Senator from Oregon for arguing that position. I do not wish to go into any debate on the merits of the particular proposal at this time, but I would say to the Senator, as he knows, that I have supported the higher education bill, led by the Senator from Oregon; and it seems to me that our proposal would be another leg on this same table. I am gratified to hear the Senator from Oregon state that if we are unable to get the other proposal put back, which he and I and other Senators have worked so hard for, he will be for this kind of proposal.

Mr. MORSE. That is my position.

VN

THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I was very much interested in the comments of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] a few moments ago as he discussed the Kraft article entitled "The Four Pillars of Asia"—the four pillars involving our Asian policy.

I associate myself with the remarks of the Senator from Pennsylvania. Of course, I go much further than he does. I am glad that, at least, as the appropriation bill for the shocking war we are

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nick amendment to the tax bill which was an effort on our part to provide a tax credit for the cost of higher education.

I have stated publicly that, even though we were defeated on that particular amendment, I have no intention of giving up the fight for an education tax credit.

I wish to state for the record, that I am considering presenting the amendment again this year, in either the same or a different form, in an effort to obtain a more accurate test of strength for the amendment on its merits.

It was curious to me that, although several other amendments were added to the bill, by the Senate this particular amendment, which would not have affected the revenues of the Federal Government until 1968, was defeated.

I know that I personally received several calls from downtown asking if I was going to support the tax bill. However, no particular mention was made of the Ribicoff-Dominick amendment. I had suspected that a great number of other calls and personal contacts had been made from downtown to other Senators.

I was interested to see, following the vote on that particular amendment, that several people publicly, in the various newspapers and columns, remarked on the extreme pressure placed on Senators by the White House in an effort to defeat that proposal.

I have before me the Evans-Novak column which was published in the Washington Post of Sunday, March 13, 1966.

I ask unanimous consent that that portion of the article entitled "To the Rescue" be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, a portion of the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TO THE RESCUE

Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien, former top White House congressional lobbyist, was rushed into the breach in the Senate last week. He was called on to help defeat the amendment of Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, Democrat, of Connecticut, to give parents a tax credit to offset the cost of college education.

Without O'Brien, the Ribicoff amendment was slated to pass by a 46-to-44 vote. When O'Brien and White House aids got through twisting arms, nine Senators who had planned to support the amendment were peeled away.

Through no fault of O'Brien's, the victory was pyrrhic. Angered by the high-pressure lobbying, the Senate went on an independence binge and approved two reductions in the President's \$6 billion Vietnam war tax increase. Both amendments were ignored in the White House concentration against the Ribicoff amendment.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, the very distinguished writer, Mr. Lee M. Cohn, of the Washington Star, wrote an article entitled "Senate-Altered Tax Bill Goes to Conference," which also discusses the pressures applied by the White House in its successful effort to defeat the proposed tax credit amendment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that that portion of the article deal-

ing with the efforts of the White House to defeat the amendment be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATE-ALTERED TAX BILL GOES TO CONFERENCE—AMENDMENTS CUT NET REVENUE GAIN BY \$1.1 BILLION

(By Lee M. Cohn)

The administration's battered tax bill was rushed to a Senate-House conference today in a drive to meet President Johnson's March 15 deadline for final action.

Two major amendments cut the bill's estimated net revenue gain from \$5.9 to \$4.8 billion over the next 15 months before the Senate passed it yesterday, 79 to 9.

One of the amendments would exempt local residential phone calls from the administration's proposed excise tax increase from 3 to 10 percent.

This amendment, approved 46 to 42 yesterday, reduced the revenue gain in the Senate bill by \$315 million.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENT

The other major amendment, adopted Tuesday, would give minimum social security benefits to persons 70 and older who are not now eligible. It would cost the Treasury \$790 million a year, starting next July 1.

Since the phone excise is very unpopular on both sides of the Capitol, there is a good chance that the conferees will go along with the Senate.

The social security amendment is more vulnerable to dumping in conference because it is so sweeping and extraneous to the tax bill.

Despite the Senate's mutinous temper, hard lobbying by the administration beat a proposal to give tax credits to parents or others sending children to college at a cost of \$1 billion a year to the Treasury.

SPONSORED BY RIBICOFF

The amendment, sponsored by Senator ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF, Democrat, of Connecticut, would have allowed parents and others paying expenses of college tuition, fees, books, and supplies to subtract up to \$325 a year from income taxpayments. It also was rejected in 1964, by a vote of 48 to 45. This amendment was rejected yesterday, 47 to 37, after what one Senator called fierce pressure by the White House.

A supporter of the amendment said the White House "snapped the whip" and "lashed" Senators into line against the proposal.

White House pressure persuaded even some of the amendment's cosponsors to vote against it. This was the case with Democratic Senators WARREN G. MAGNUSEN, of Washington; EDWARD V. LONG of Missouri, and JOSEPH M. MONTOYA, of New Mexico.

Supporters of the amendment figured that White House pressure switched seven votes in all.

Marvin Watson, President Johnson's appointments secretary, reportedly led the drive against the amendment, assisted by Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien, who formerly was in charge of congressional liaison, and Mike Manatos, legislative liaison man for the Senate.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, interestingly enough, the New York Herald Tribune published an article on March 10, 1966, written by Mr. Andrew J. Glass under the headline "Senate Cuts Tax Bill From 6 to 5 Billion—No Local Phone Rise," which also refers to the Ribicoff-Dominick amendment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that that portion of the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATE CUTS TAX BILL FROM 6 TO 5 BILLION—NO LOCAL PHONE RISE

The White House had mounted a hard-nosed lobbying effort against a plan by Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, Democrat, of Connecticut, to offset in part the cost of a college education with up to \$325 in tax credits.

As a result, this \$1 billion proposal was defeated, 47 to 37—even though its revenue-losing impact would not be felt until 1968.

Senate sources reported that Presidential appointments Secretary W. Marvin Watson had called key legislators on the eve of the showdown and told them that "they were through" at the White House if they backed the Ribicoff plan.

Mr. Watson, these sources said, emphasized that he was speaking for the President who, they said, was prepared to deal them out of all Federal patronage and projects if "you cross him on this vote."

The anti-Ribicoff campaign apparently left the White House exposed and mapping on the social security and phone tax proposals.

"Lyndon Johnson outsmarted himself," an influential Senate Democrat said. ***

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I have deliberately placed these in the RECORD to show the extreme pressure applied by the White House to defeat the Ribicoff-Dominick amendment. I believe it is ironic that the White House should oppose this measure so strenuously when I was trying, in concert with Senator RIBICOFF and other Senators, to provide a mechanism whereby people could increase the opportunities for young people to go to college and, at the same time, increase the opportunities for colleges to receive more funds.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Colorado suspend for a moment?

The hour of 1 o'clock having arrived, morning business is now concluded.

The Senator from Colorado may proceed.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I think it was an important amendment, and I think it is a proposal which sooner or later will pass the Senate.

I was happy to note that the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], who is on the floor at the moment, while opposing the bill last year and voting against it again this time, did not take an active part in the debate against the amendment, and I very much appreciate his courtesy in this regard.

It is a measure which, to me, is of extreme importance in that it supports diversity in education and provides an opportunity for private funds to enter the educational field, without involving ourselves in the church-state relationship.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. I thank my friend, the Senator from Colorado. As he observed, I did not participate in the debate this year in opposition to his amendment, although I voted against it.

I represented the administration last time as leader in opposition to the Senator's amendment. I refused to function

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conducting in southeast Asia comes up for consideration next Monday, the Senator from Pennsylvania, as he indicated today, will have some reservations in respect thereto.

Mr. President, I am hoping that the appropriation bill may be the vehicle, at long last, which those in this body who have expressed great reservation to the administration's policy of conducting this war may use for the imposition of long past due and much-needed checks upon the administration in respect to the slaughter of American boys now taking place in southeast Asia. It is a slaughter which, in my judgment, cannot be justified, a slaughter which is involving us in a war in which we should never have been involved in the first place.

I was glad to hear the Senator from Pennsylvania point out that we should not be interested in saving face. I would add that we should be introduced in saving lives.

I was also glad to hear the Senator from Pennsylvania point out that it was desirable we take a position which I would call a position of legitimate defense, a holding position—which will protect our boys, and also stop the killing of a large number of South Vietnamese which will take place if we continue to escalate the war—through such a holding action as General Gavin recommends it would be possible for other forces to come into the picture and seek to bring the war to an end by the imposition of a needed cease-fire order to be enforced by nations not involved in the war as combatants.

Mr. President, I wish to make these comments today because it needs to be constantly drilled into the thinking of the American people as to what the major premise of those of us opposing the war rests upon.

What is needed is to have a cease-fire order enforced against the United States, against the South Vietnamese, against the North Vietnamese, and against the Vietcong. In my judgment, if we leave this war to the United States, with its predominantly unilateral military action in southeast Asia, our country will lead the world into a massive war in Asia, and what may come out of that war is awful to even think about.

Therefore, I plead again that my country proceed to exercise its influence, its prestige, and its obligations as a member of the United Nations. In my judgment, there is not a good faith attempt being made in New York City to bring this issue out into the open with full Security Council debate.

In my judgment, the administration and our Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Arthur Goldberg, are not making the record that this country should make in seeking to bring this matter out into the open and find out exactly what the Security Council will or will not do.

I have some views as to why we are not doing it. Of course, I believe that our approach to the Security Council was a belated one. I pleaded 2½ years ago, and day after day during all that intervening period, that we should take this issue to the Security Council. Fi-

nally, there started developing across the country a wave of public opinion support for the senior Senator from Oregon. I happen to know something about that support, Mr. President, and I happen to know something about the intensity with which it was represented to the White House. In my judgment, the administration could not stand up any-longer against a failure to take a resolution to the Security Council of the United Nations, for millions of American people were asking the question: "Why don't they take it to the United Nations?"

The sad thing is that our President sent the problem to the United Nations with an olive branch in one hand and bombs in the other. Behind the scenes in the United Nations, and in the cloak-rooms there, most of the discussion since that time has been about the bombs and not about the olive branch.

Of course, if it is brought out into the full glare of world opinion for Security Council debate and discussion, as it should be, the United States will get taken to the international woodshed. We had better get that spanking or that whipping behind us now. Some others also will have to go to that woodshed; namely, all the combatants, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, and the Vietcong—because those are the nations along with us which happened to be threatening the peace of the world.

We Americans do not like to face the fact that we are a threat to the peace of the world. But we are. We are acting, for the most part, on a unilateral basis. We should be insisting upon a multilateral approach to peacekeeping in southeast Asia.

Accordingly, Mr. President, I urge once more that my Government give evidence—clear, convincing evidence—that we are insisting that this matter come on out into the open for world debate. Let all criticism be put behind us, for in that Security Council debate the violations by the United States of the Geneva accords, section after section, will undoubtedly be made a matter of world record, for all the world to see. The interesting thing is that most leaders of most governments in the world already recognize it.

Travel with me, as I did last fall as a Senate delegate appointed by the administration, through Asia. We soon found that the leaders of the great Asian powers hold no brief for America's unilateral course of action in southeast Asia.

Let us get that record made and do our part in seeing to it that the violations of the Vietcong and North Vietnam are clearly made a part of the world record. Then, let us get on with the job of enforcing a peace in southeast Asia, and ending this slaughter. That is why I was so interested in the comments of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], which I interpret to mean recognition on his part that we need to take a holding position, a defensive position, which will protect our forces and protect our allies and bring an end to an escalating of the war.

The United States is following an expanding military policy which, as we expand it, endangers our becoming involved

in a war with China which, in my judgment, will move into a war with Russia that will mean a third world war.

I think these are times when we ought to stop running these risks. I think these are times when the Pentagon Building should be put on a leash and have it made perfectly clear that to carry out its duty to defend the security of this Republic it is not entitled to follow a course of action that threatens to involve us in a massive war in Asia. Such a war will bog down hundreds of thousands of Americans for years and years, until, at long last, we will be put out of Asia. Let us face it, no white nation, including the United States, will be permitted to stay in Asia and exercise a role of domination in any part of Asia. That era is gone.

It is interesting that the other Western nations have learned that lesson, but not the United States.

We should follow the course of action which is clearly implied in the remarks of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], but if not, I assert it as my own. We should give the United Nations an opportunity to undertake the primary—and I underline the word "primary"—obligation and responsibility of the members of the United Nations, and that is to enforce the peace when a threat of war exists. That is the primary purpose of the Security Council.

It may very well be that the Security Council will fall down on that obligation, but I want to find out. I should think my Government would want to find out, instead of saying, as many have been heard to say, "Well, we are sure that France or Russia will veto such a proposal." We do not know until we find out. As I have said in the past, if either one of them does, then that country is on the spot, and the United States would be taken off the spot.

We would then be off the spot. We would then show the world that we seek a cease-fire order to be enforced by the United Nations.

Oh, I know that when we make statements of this kind, somehow, in some way, we are said to be aiding the enemy. We are supposed to be, somehow, in some way, letting down our boys in southeast Asia. I get lost in that jungle of fallacy. The truth is that those who want to follow the United States course of action now being followed in southeast Asia are the ones who are letting down our boys. Those of us who are seeking to try to stop the killing there are the ones who think it is our clear duty to insist on every possible procedure and avenue available to bring about the enforceability of peace and the stopping of the making of war in southeast Asia.

I repeat again, and I want it in the RECORD, before we start the debate next Monday, that if France or Russia or any nonpermanent member of the Security Council vetoed the proposal for Security Council intervention in southeast Asia, we should then proceed to the next procedure provided for by the charter.

As I have been heard to say before, and as I said as recently as last night in St. Louis, I want my President to go to New York City—it is much more important

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to go there than to go to Honolulu. I want him to plead our desires for peace before an extraordinary session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I want him to make a plea to the world, in which plea he will announce that the United States will cooperate in the enforcement of a ceasefire order by the noncombatant members of the General Assembly of the United Nations on condition that they will agree to carry out their obligations clearly called for by the charter to send to southeast Asia whatever divisions of troops are necessary to separate the combatants and enforce the peace. The United Nations should make clear to both sides in the war that the shooting must stop and the war must stop. It must make clear that if either side fires upon the United Nations forces then and only then will United Nations forces fire back for further enforcement of the peace sought through a ceasefire order.

This will require, of course, the dividing of Vietnam probably into a number of buffer zones to be occupied by United Nations peacekeeping forces.

I happen to think that if there were a large number of nations that would get behind such a peacekeeping movement, all parties, including Red China, would think a long time before they would align themselves against the overwhelming majority of the nations of the world.

Mr. President, it takes big statesmanship to carry out such an ideal. The world is entitled to look to our President for that statesmanship. That is why, Mr. President, you find me supporting the so-called enclave approach as the best approach for a desolution of the war. This administration is trying to misrepresent the enclave approach. The enclave approach is not a plan for us to run and get out. Nobody has suggested that. I have said we could not do that. I opposed our going into the war. But once in there, we have created a situation under which we cannot pull out. If we did we would probably start the bloodiest massacre and biggest human blood bath in the history of mankind. Whichever one of the two Vietnamese forces were predominant would kill the other and we would have to assume at least some moral responsibility for that occurrence.

So I am not asking that we pull out, but I am asking that we hold, as General Gavin has advocated, as Mr. Kennan has advocated. I interpret General Ridgeway's letter to the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee [Mr. FULBRIGHT], as being opposed to our escalating the war. We need a lull in hostilities until the other nations of the world become involved, not in war, but in bringing about a constructive peace. It is at least an avenue toward peace we have not traveled yet. It is one the President has the responsibility to travel before he proceeds to carry out the arbitrary, discretionary power which this Congress voted him last week—and in my judgment mistakenly and ill-advisedly—in the authorization bill to send 425,000-plus American boys to fight, and thousands of them to die in a war in southeast Asia.

As I have said before, he cannot justify sending thousands of boys into battle without a declaration of war.

I will not repeat today the many reasons I have given why I think this administration does not want to declare war, except to mention the main one. A declaration of war on our part would put us in great difficulty with many of our allies if we tried to enforce the declaration. We would find countries that we now consider to be allies would not respect our blockades, would not respect our mining of ports, and would not lower their flags to such war policies of ours. The first one of their ships that we sank, we would find ourselves in great international trouble with them. If one of those ships happened to be a Communist ship of the Soviet Union, we would then be at war with Russia, and also, in my judgment, with China if China sent her minesweepers into the Haiphong Harbor, as she undoubtedly would do, to sweep out any mines we might lay.

The trouble is, in these hours of war hysteria that are spreading across this country, and in which this administration, by its misinformation and propaganda pouring into American public opinion, the American public does not know the facts in respect to what the course of action of this administration is going to lead them into if the people do not stop this administration.

I am afraid that the only check that really is left is the American people, unless Congress wants to stop abdicating its constitutional responsibilities. We are headed for an enlarged war unless Congress wants to carry out the trust the Constitution bestows on its Members to check its President, in an executive war, an illegal war, and in an undeclared war. Unless Congress is willing to carry out its responsibilities, I say to the American people again, "You are going to have to do it, you are going to have to do it with your ballots, and you are going to have to start in the primaries just ahead, in the election next fall, in the primaries in 1968, and in the election in 1968."

Let me say, as a Democrat, that this issue is so far above partisanship that this Senator will never put his party first, because what I am pleading for is, in my judgment, the only course of action that will truly put my country first.

I am interested in my country following a course of action that will at least cause it to retrace its steps from the shocking course of action of immorality and illegality that we have been following since 1954 when we started violating the Geneva accords section by section.

Mr. President, there is growing interest in this country as to what the administration is leading us to domestically. We just had a colloquy between the Senator from Colorado and the Senator from Oregon in regard to what the administration is doing on the domestic level in the field of education.

That is only one segment of our economy in which this administration is going to cut, cut, and cut in the name of supplying more, more, and more funds for its illegal and immoral war in southeast Asia.

But it is not willing to cut in connec-

tion with other foreign programs. We had a little taste of that the other day when we had a supplemental budget of \$415 million for more foreign aid into southeast Asia and the Dominican Republic, and other areas listed in that bill.

The senior Senator from Oregon asked for a saving of at least that amount out of foreign aid elsewhere in the world. This administration not only would not go along with that proposal of the Senator from Oregon, but this administration has already sent up a budget message that increases its foreign aid in other parts of the world.

I wish to say to the American people: "Only you can stop it. Only you, by the exercise of your rights as free men and women, through the ballot box can stop this administration from that course of action."

I want to say that any aid that we have to give to this war torn area of the world in southeast Asia must be saved out of aid going into other parts of the world. It must not be saved in the cost of adequate support of what is known as the Great Society program, which I enthusiastically support.

I urge it for another reason. If this administration thinks there is domestic tranquillity at the grassroots of America, it could not be more wrong. The maintenance of tranquility and security here at home is going to be dependent on our meeting the domestic needs here at home. We have made great progress in the field of civil rights but it is only the beginning. There is trouble brewing in America in the field of civil rights. Part of that trouble is brewing because to date there has not been carried out to the degree that, in my judgment, the people of this country have had a right to expect of this administration, the provisions of civil rights legislation already passed.

In my opinion this administration had better take a long, hard look at the grassroots of America and the evidences of growing dissension and trouble within our own country in respect to the failure of this administration to proceed as it should proceed in solving our domestic ills.

There is a much greater need for a domestic aid program than a foreign aid program at the present time.

I mentioned the other day, and I wish to make it a part of this speech, that certainly I am for milk for little boys and girls in impoverished areas and the backward areas of the world. It has been labeled for a long time, "Milk for Hot-tentots." I support it. We should continue it. But we should not discontinue the milk for thousands upon thousands of impoverished little boys and girls in this country. And yet, this budget message contains a cut in the school milk program. I do not understand it.

I do not know what is happening to us in regard to our obligations to a social conscience. I do not understand these cuts in the President's budget message in light of his proposal or proposals for expanding foreign aid.

As the Senate knows, I have tried for several years, and I shall never give up,

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to eliminate the corruption, the inefficiency, and the shocking waste of millions of dollars which have characterized the U.S. foreign aid program since 1946 when the American taxpayers have had more than \$116 billion of their money spent in foreign aid. We know what the record shows.

As I pointed out the other day, we have a committee report from the Foreign Relations Committee that sets forth all the reservations along the lines I am pointing out in regard to the corruption involved in foreign aid, the waste involved in foreign aid. Yet it brought forth a committee report that had all of the language that, in my judgment, supported modification of the bill, but ended up recommending passage of the bill.

It is the old story of giving the American people the words but denying them the votes their protection calls for.

I say again to the American people in regard to foreign aid, you better make your views known. You better make clear to these politicians you send here to protect your interests and not to yield to political pressure of an administration that follows a course of pressure action such as the Senator from Colorado just described a few minutes ago on the floor of the Senate.

That is why I have been heard to say, and I say it again on the floor of the Senate, I think the American people would have been much better off in regard to the problems I am raising, if Barry Goldwater had been elected President.

Do you know why I say that? He would not have had a Republican Congress; he would have had a Democratic Congress. Many Senators now are expressing many reservations about the President's program. They are saying, in regard to the war in Vietnam, that they had not given the President the blanket authority that some seem to think they had given. They are now saying that they did not give him a blank check. In my judgment they have been voting for President Johnson's requests primarily out of partisan consideration. They would not have been in that whiplash partisan position had there been a Republican President elected in 1964.

President Johnson was elected during that campaign—and I believe the American people elected him during that campaign—primarily because of the position he took on foreign policy. His position on foreign policy during that campaign was supposed to be directly opposite to the position of Barry Goldwater. I have cited in some of my speeches during the last 2½ years on the floor of the Senate direct quotations from the President during the 1964 campaign—his New Hampshire speech, his Texas speech, and other speeches and references he made to the Goldwater position on the war in southeast Asia. They were completely contrary to the position he takes today. It was that position on foreign policy, in my judgment, that was the primary reason why President Johnson was elected by so overwhelming a majority vote over Goldwater.

I campaigned for him in 14 States, and I would do so again on the basis of the

facts as of then. But I did not have the slightest idea when I campaigned for him that in a short time after he was elected, he would out-Goldwater Goldwater. With Goldwater in the White House, there would at least have been a check and control by Congress through a Democratic Congress. In my opinion, Congress would not have approved for Goldwater an escalation of this immoral, illegal war that this Democratic Congress is approving out of partisan consideration for a Democratic President.

Mr. President, we are going to have this out at the ballot boxes. We are going to have it out on the political front in this country. I am one Senator, as my colleagues know, who has always served in the Senate on the basis of the philosophy that I should consider each term my last, for I think that is the only way to serve in the Senate. But I shall always be perfectly willing to submit my record to the voters of my State, and I would be willing to submit it to them tomorrow, because the voters of my State know that I do not put partisanship first. I do not believe that I have any right, under my oath of office, to put partisanship first. I sit in the Senate representing everyone in my State, including those who voted against me as well as those who voted for me. I represent each of them to the same degree of responsibility.

I am sorry to say so, but I think the war crisis has reached the point where now the American people will have to answer for themselves. I believe that long since, their politicians have failed them. The American people will now have to exercise that precious check that the Constitution gives them—the check of the ballot box.

I hope that the American voters will watch the Senate very carefully next Monday, for they are entitled to be protected by the check of the purse strings. As I pointed out in a speech the other day, and as I quoted from the great constitutional debates that gave birth to this Republic, our constitutional fathers made perfectly clear that the Members of Congress were given the check of the purse strings so as to deny funds to a President who was following a policy that was not in the public interest.

With respect to the war in Vietnam, we would not let the boys down if we exercised the check of the purse strings. Rather, we would say to the President, "We are going to stop your killing so many; we are going to deny you the funds you are asking for." Thus, through that constitutional check, we would force the President, who has not yet even recommended a declaration of war, to fall back to a line of defense that would protect those boys and stop killing them in increasing numbers as a result of sending them into further aggressive expansive action in southeast Asia.

I made brief mention of some of the economic problems that confront us at home. It is interesting, is it not, that there are those who apparently have deluded themselves into thinking that we can expand the war in southeast Asia into an ever-increasing, massive war, but not be confronted with the legislative necessity of enacting a series of legislative, restrictive measures upon our econ-

omy which will protect the dollar of the American taxpayer? No one dislikes more than I do legislation that involves price controls, wage controls, rent controls, and the other necessary economic controls that it has been found must be imposed when the economy really becomes disrupted by war and ceases to be a peacetime economy. But we cannot continue to escalate the war without facing up to the fact that such controls will have to come.

Of course, if one makes even a suggestion of a tax that would seek to take some of the already excessive profits out of the manufacture of war goods, his loyalty is suspected. It is already time that we tried to limit the profits made from the manufacture of war materiel. Already fat profits are being made from the war effort in providing our boys with the war goods that they need in order to carry out the orders that the Commander in Chief has imposed upon them in this undeclared war. We had better take the blood money out of war profits.

I wonder, however, if anyone wants to suggest that we pass a bill to provide capital punishment upon a finding of war profiteering. As the Senate well knows, for religious reasons as well as for social reasons and legal reasons, I have always opposed capital punishment during my years as a Member of the Senate and prior to my coming here. So I would be opposed to capital punishment for war profiteers. But I have a little difficulty understanding a Vice President of the United States who seeks to justify the assassination of a profiteer in Saigon by rationalizing himself into believing or saying that the assassination was necessary in order to check profiteering in South Vietnam.

How absurd can we become? That killing was inhumane. It was uncalled for. But it was to be expected from the kind of military junta tyranny that this administration is supporting with millions of American taxpayers' dollars in South Vietnam. I have been warning the Senate for a long time that we are supporting a group of military corruptionists in South Vietnam. We already see that not too far beneath the surface in South Vietnam there is great trouble brewing. But such tyranny would not last 30 days if it were not being propped up by the United States, financed by the United States, and supported by the United States.

I am sorry that there seems to be a willingness on the part of the leaders of our Government to accept this example of man's inhumanity to man which is characterized by this public square assassination—for that is the proper description of it—of this shockingly crooked South Vietnamese profiteer. Are we going to take the position that cruelty is a substitute for justice?

I join with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Young] who, in my absence from the floor of the Senate, protested this shocking assassination. Of course, he should have been tried; and, of course, he should have been incarcerated, and for a good long period. But what has happened to us? We, in the midst of this blood splurge of killing countenance this kind of conduct on the part of a mili-

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tary junta government that some of our leaders praise.

Mr. President, I am at a loss to understand why this administration is following the course of action that it is following in southeast Asia.

I think the administration is going to discover that, as the American people come to reflect upon our course of action, they are going to repudiate this administration and its course of action in southeast Asia. And they should. If we do not stop this administration from continuing the course of action that it is following, in my judgment, we will write a shocking, sordid chapter of American history that American boys and girls 100 years from now will read and be so completely perplexed and astounded and dumbfounded by as to ask the question: "What happened in the period of American history in 1966?"

Mr. President, again I say that I never ask for agreement, but for thought on these matters, and I am satisfied that increasing thought is taking place across this country. I think that, in the not too distant future, this administration is going to either change its warmaking course of action or it is going to find itself without the sympathy of the overwhelming majority of the American people.

EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN, THE NEGLECTED LEGION—EDITORIAL BY SENATOR PROUTY

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the ranking minority member of the Education Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare is our very distinguished colleague, the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], who in our deliberations has been particularly solicitous in drawing to our attention the need for special education financial support.

I was most pleased recently to learn that he has become an editorialist in this area, since I found on my desk in the NEA Journal of March 1966 over his byline a guest editorial entitled, "Exceptional Children—The Neglected Legion."

I commend him for this editorial and I wish to repledge to him my own commitment to do what I can through legis-

lation to give to exceptional children the special education they require.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial to which I have alluded be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN: THE NEGLECTED LEGION

(By WINSTON L. PROUTY, U.S. Senator from Vermont)

The mission of education ought to be to give each child the chance to work at his own level and to progress as far and as fast as his ability to learn permits. It follows that it should be the mission of this Nation to give the exceptional child at least the ordinary opportunities to learn even if this requires extraordinary measures. To the extent that America departs from this mission, our society can be neither great nor good.

In this country there are 6 million exceptional children—6 million boys and girls who differ from the so-called average enough to warrant some type of special school adjustment. Some are blind, some deaf; some have emotional disorders, some brain injuries; still others have multiple learning disabilities.

No picket signs proclaim their cause. No headlines herald their anguish. Yet many cannot communicate, even to their parents, their sense of hopelessness, frustration, and confusion, because they have not learned to speak or write.

Although some type of educational program for the deaf and blind appeared early in this country, only within relatively recent years have we recognized the special educational needs of the mentally retarded and the emotionally disturbed.

During the 19th century our attitude toward these children was benevolent and paternalistic. Various parent, church, and charitable groups tried to provide some type of care, usually in residential institutions away from the community.

The early 1900's saw the beginning of a trend which recognized that the similarities between handicapped children and those we label as normal were perhaps as important as the differences. Special schools and special classes began to emerge. A real effort was made to provide exceptional children with enough education to enable them to become productive members of society, rather than having them spend their lives in far-off institutions forgotten by the rest of the community.

It has only been within the past 25 years or so, however, that the public schools have

really begun to assume responsibility for educating these children, and it was not until 1956 that Congress earmarked any aid for the education of the handicapped. As a result, States vary greatly as to the percentage of exceptional children enrolled in special education classes in the public schools.

In 11 States fewer than 10 percent are enrolled; in 14 States, between 10 and 20 percent; 14 have between 20 and 30 percent; 5 between 30 and 40 percent; and in only 6 States are as many as 40 to 50 percent enrolled.

In addition, barely one exceptional child in four has a properly trained teacher. There are only about 60,000 public day school teachers available in the field of special education, and some of them are only partially trained. To provide special education for all children who currently need it, we will require approximately 300,000 special education teachers.

We have, then, a national problem. Does it not seem to you, as it does to me, that exceptional children have become a neglected and lonesome legion in American education? Is it too much to ask that these 6 million boys and girls be given an educational bill of rights?

As the ranking Republican on the Senate Education Subcommittee, I solicit your advice and counsel on how this should be done. I also urge you to make your voices heard in Congress on behalf of those who cannot speak for themselves.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, pursuant to the order previously entered, I move that the Senate adjourn until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 56 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned under the previous order, until Monday, March 21, 1966, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 17, 1966:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Dixon Donnelley, of the District of Columbia, to be an Assistant Secretary of State.

CANADIAN UNIVERSAL AND INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION

Stanley R. Tupper, of Maine, to be Commissioner General for U.S. participation in the Canadian Universal and International Exhibition.

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If young men of 18, 19, or 20 years of age are considered old enough to fight in defense of their country, for the preservation of its ideals, they should also be considered old enough to help select the leaders of their country who control their destiny.

The President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation also recommends lowering the voting age. In a report discussing voter apathy, this Commission made an important point. It noted that high school represents the last formal education that many Americans will ever receive. Between the time they graduate from high school and the time they can cast their first vote is a period of about 3 years. During this time, a kind of political vacuum develops, and through stagnation, frustration and apathy, the Nation is denied a substantial number of potential lifetime voters. This fact is shown in statistics which indicate that the 21- to 30-age group ranks among the lowest in voting participation.

By granting the right to vote to those 18, 19, and 20 years old, we would help correct this trend by permitting citizens to begin voting at the peak of their political interest—an interest stimulated in the civics and government classes of high school.

Twenty-one was established as the minimum voting age more than 150 years ago by our Founding Fathers. It was an arbitrary decision based on archaic ideas with roots in the Middle Ages. Even at that time, many prominent Americans attained to great heights while still in their teens. George Washington was a major in the Virginia Militia at 19; Alexander Hamilton was writing widely read political booklets before he was 15.

And as I have pointed out, today's youth certainly has more opportunities and privileges than did their counterparts of 150 years ago.

I think it is time, Mr. Speaker, that we demonstrate to the youth of this Nation that we are not bound by tradition, that we do appreciate their contributions to our country, and that we do recognize their ability to think and act as adults. I urge each of my colleagues to join me in supporting this resolution to give the right to vote to every citizen over the age of 18, in local, State, and Federal elections.

(Mr. CULVER (at the request of Mr. EDMONDSON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. CULVER'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

FULL EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1946

(Mr. BINGHAM (at the request of Mr. EDMONDSON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, recently, by colleague from New York, Representative JAMES H. SCHEUER, introduced a bill to amend the Full Employment Act

of 1946. I am proud to join him in co-sponsoring that proposal.

The bill is the product of long, careful work by a group of our colleagues who share a concern for the limited employment prospects of lower income groups, particularly the youngsters. This measure would give special assistance to developing career positions in the subprofessional category of jobs. It would also stimulate social services which would not otherwise be available.

I commend my colleague from New York and those who participated in this study under his chairmanship. If enacted, this proposal could do much to alleviate grinding poverty and, at the same time, bring hundreds of thousands of people off the demeaning public assistance rolls and permit them to achieve the dignity of self-support.

THE HERITAGE OF ST. PATRICK

(Mr. RODINO (at the request of Mr. EDMONDSON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, today is one of the few days this year, as it is every year, when all the Members of this great body, no matter their home State or party, stand in agreement on the principal subject of the day: the commemoration of the death of a man of God whose influence has spread from a small section of a small island to the far reaches of the earth in the 1,505 years since he passed to his eternal reward. The beloved bishop of Armagh is indeed the apostle and patron saint of the Irish people, no matter where they may live. But more than that, St. Patrick remains a living symbol of hope amid despair, of humaneness amid barbarism, of freedom amid tyranny.

It is sometimes easy to forget the conditions of living that St. Patrick found when he came to the Emerald Isle. Cut off from the Roman heart of civilization by invasions of the western coast of Europe and the island to the west of the channel between, the Irish light of Christian culture burned only dimly, but it burned. And tended by the divinely inspired bishop of Armagh, it remained the vigil light for all of western Europe.

Perhaps it is a little less easy to forget the later invasion of Ireland by the allegedly civilized neighbors to the eastward. In all the chronicles of human history, no persecution, no pogrom, no inquisition, no genocide surpasses that visited upon Ireland by her English rulers.

Yet, through all the centuries of her tortured turmoil, Ireland and her people kept faith with the principles of freedom and justice until, at last, today freedom and justice themselves prevail in the land of St. Patrick.

Let St. Patrick and his people serve as an example to those everywhere in the world who suffer today as they have suffered in the past. As they were a millennium and a half ago, Christian principles and cultures are again under attack by atheistic barbarians. And even as the Irish people fought the harder when

adversity was greatest, let all freedom-loving people remain uncompromising to the principles that stem from the social justice of natural law.

And let us here, where freedom and justice abound, stand firm in our condemnation of tyrannical aggression, without regard for geographical boundaries. Let us keep the faith and spread the faith and fight for the faith as the bishop of Armagh did—the faith that all men are created free and equal and are to live as they are created.

It is a proud and glorious day, Mr. Speaker, for you and all our fortunate colleagues who can trace your history back to Erin. But those of us who may not share your blood will always share your heritage. For though he may once have been Ireland's, St. Patrick is now the world's.

THE PRESS VERSUS THE MILITARY IN VIETNAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. ICHORD] is recognized for 60 minutes.

(Mr. ICHORD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I join in the accolades of the majority floor leader and the minority floor leader paid to Bill Arbogast earlier today. I hope that what I have to say now does not detract from the tributes which have been paid to him.

But, Mr. Speaker, what I have to say to you vitally affects the security of our country and I believe—although I hope my remarks are not misconstrued—they should be made in the interest of the security of our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, a recent article in the highly respected Columbia Journalism Review points up a problem which has been of great concern to me as a member of the House Committee on Armed Services; namely, the adequacy and objectivity of the coverage of the Vietnam war by the American press.

Mr. Speaker, the article which I shall request permission to include in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks is entitled "Press Versus Military in Vietnam: A Further View" by Martin Gershen, feature writer for the Newark Star-Ledger.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Gershen, who covered the Vietnam conflict for his paper last year, suggests that the controversy of press censorship by the military authorities in Vietnam is a result not of arbitrary news management by the authorities, but rather of irresponsible reporting by a group of young, inexperienced, and emotionally committed correspondents.

These correspondents seem to take the view that the American war in southeast Asia is not only against communism, but against the entire U.S. Military Establishment.

Mr. Speaker, the Gershen article, and others similar to it, point out some aspects of a problem which has vexed our

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national effort in Vietnam since its inception.

The problem, bluntly stated, is that neither in terms of adequacy of journalistic coverage nor objectivity are the American people being given a complete and fair picture of the Vietnam situation by the communications industry, and according to Mr. Gershen much of the explanation for this regrettable state of affairs lies in the fact that it is very expensive to send an experienced correspondent to Saigon to cover the Vietnamese war. For to many newspapers, the solution has been to hire the budget-priced, ambitious, young "stringers" who have paid their own way to Saigon and who, in Mr. Gershen's words, will "work for peanuts." In many cases these young correspondents are foreign nationals who are emotionally opposed to the American presence in southeast Asia.

This provocative article, Mr. Speaker, dealing with a matter so vital to the security of our Nation, has prompted me to make inquiry into its validity.

Mr. Speaker, I have concluded that there is great cause for concern. It is revealing to note that, according to the Department of Defense sources, of the 360 American correspondents accredited by the U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam, only 141—only 141—are U.S. citizens.

One hundred and forty-five of these correspondents are neither U.S. citizens nor Vietnamese.

Mr. Gershen in his article speaks of one experience with one of these foreign correspondents, and I quote from the article:

I remember meeting one of these non-American U.S. correspondents the day after the Cam Ne incident. We both were leaving Da Nang. He was carrying a pouch of television film, which he was bringing to Saigon. I was returning to Pleiku.

We were picked up at the press camp by two U.S. enlisted men who were ordered to drive us to the airfield where we were to catch a military flight south.

On the way to the airfield my colleague began berating the two enlisted men over the Cam Ne operation.

He implied that the marines were no better than the Gestapo.

"Imagine you Yanks burning a village. I never saw anything like that in my life," said this correspondent, who obviously was too young ever to have covered a war before.

That is the article from the Columbia Journalism Review.

Mr. Speaker, the Pentagon public information officials were so concerned about this problem, that is about the lack of experienced correspondents covering the Vietnam war that they offered to pay all expenses for a 10-day tour of the area for newsmen.

Eighty-four correspondents went to Vietnam under this program. According to Department officials, the result has been some upgrading in the caliber of the newsmen being sent to Saigon.

As we all realize, Mr. Speaker, the American people do have questions about our participation in the Vietnam conflict. Therefore, it seems to me to be especially important that the American people be provided with the best possible information on the situation in Vietnam.

So long as this war is to be a subject of extensive public debate and soul searching, it is vital that the information, the input upon which this process operates, be as extensive and as accurate as possible.

The extensive role of television, Mr. Speaker, in the coverage of the Vietnamese war has created some new and different problems for the news media. This is the first armed conflict in our history in which television has had a substantial role to play in reporting news. As a communication medium, there is no question that television has an impact far stronger and more immediate than anything that has been ever used before.

This provides an opportunity for vivid and hard-hitting reporting from battle zones, reporting which is unprecedented in wartime news coverage.

Unfortunately, however, careless use of this medium has the capacity to shock and appall rather than to inform. There have been more instances when it has seemed to me that television reporting has featured the sensational and the shocking to the detriment of presenting an accurate and balanced report. It is a medium of such great impact that it must be used prudently and with factual balance.

Yet another disturbing aspect of the news coverage of this war is that so many of those who are responsible for keeping the American people informed have engaged in destructive criticism of our efforts, both military and civilian, in Vietnam. Criticism, Mr. Speaker, by the press is indeed most valuable when it clarifies and enlightens or presents thoughtful alternatives. It is very easy, however, for observers to slip into a pattern of negativism in which every action is criticized without consideration of positive alternatives.

This, I am afraid, is what has happened with respect to some coverage of the Vietnam conflict.

The choices which we must make in these efforts are not easy. Any relatively close decision will have its proponents and opponents. The issue, therefore, may be closely balanced. This is the way it always is with difficult problems. Therefore, criticism of decisions cannot be constructive unless balanced against alternate decisions which might have been reached.

Too many of the press critics in Saigon and in Washington, too, for that matter, have been content solely to attack the ultimate decisions taken without either measuring them against the proposed alternatives or proposing new alternatives. This kind of criticism contributes nothing to rational debate.

I should emphasize at this point that I recognize fully the difficulties the press has in covering Vietnam, with fronts and battlefields difficult, if not impossible, to define. Presenting a totally balanced picture of what is happening out there is an immense and, I am sure, often a frustrating job. But it is precisely because this war is so complex and perplexing that the press owes to the American people a higher degree of responsibility than ever before.

As I suggested earlier, our efforts in

Vietnam are subject to one of the greatest public debates ever to accompany an American military conflict. If the public is to come to a rational and sound conclusion on what the American role should be in southeast Asia, it is more important than ever that they be provided with the most complete and accurate news reporting.

Mr. Speaker, I am a fervent believer in freedom of the press. But freedom of the press has never meant license for the press to follow irresponsibly a path that is detrimental to the national interests. It has been traditional and justifiable that in times or in areas where our national security has been endangered some limitation has been placed on the operation of the news media.

In wartime there have always been limiting procedures which the press have been required to follow in its coverage. But there has been no permanent damage to the rights of the press as a result of these procedures, and I believe that it is undeniable that the higher interests of our country and the American people have been well served by such limitations on press coverage.

At the present time restrictions on the press in Vietnam are relatively minimal. No true type of wartime censorship has been put in force, despite the fact that we are involved in immense military operations there. I for one hope that it does not become necessary to impose total censorship on Vietnam news. I believe that the American press can act responsibly and report the news accurately without endangering national security.

But if the news media do not demonstrate the responsibility and voluntary self-restraint of which I know they are capable, then we must be prepared to consider some form of wartime news censorship, which would include a more stringent policy toward accreditation of correspondents, a limitation in access to battle zones, and a scrutiny of the copy filed.

Over 200,000 young Americans, Mr. Speaker—almost 300,000—are committed to the Vietnam struggle. Vast amounts of our wealth and resources are being and will be dedicated to combating aggression and protecting our interests and those of the free world in southeast Asia.

We cannot fool ourselves about the fact that the prestige, the honor, and the security of the United States are involved in every decision made, in every word written or spoken word regarding American policies in Vietnam. The country simply cannot afford distorted, biased, inaccurate, incomplete or irresponsible war news coverage.

If a responsible press operating in a free society is not capable of providing news coverage that meets these basic standards, then it can truly be said that our society and our free traditions are in jeopardy.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include the article written by Mr. Martin Gershen, entitled "Press versus Military in Vietnam: a further view," from the Columbia Journalism

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Review, in the Record immediately following my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

PRESS VERSUS MILITARY IN VIETNAM: A FURTHER VIEW

(NOTE.—Martin Gershen, who wrote the following observations, is a feature writer-photographer for the Newark Star-Ledger, on leave to study in Columbia's advanced international reporting program. He covered the war in Vietnam last summer.)

There is a basic law of journalism which says that every story should have at least two sides.

Yet, in too many reports involving censorship in Vietnam, the press seems to have the last word.

And that word leaves the reader—or viewer—at home no alternative but to assume that the American war in southeast Asia not only is against communism, but against the entire U.S. Military Establishment.

In an article, "Censorship and Cam Ne," by Richard Rustin, which appeared in the fall 1965, issue of the Columbia Journalism Review, the writer made some attempt at giving both sides of the controversy that continues between the press and the brass.

But one had to read carefully and dig deeply to learn that the possibility exists that the press may be partly to blame for its troubles with the censors.

Edward P. Morgan suggested this possibility when he was quoted as saying there was a "passel" of young stringers in Vietnam who are trying to become the Ernie Pyles of this war by baiting military officials at press briefings.

But generally the article seemed to consist of quotations from one famous byliner after another who self-righteously attacked censorship in Vietnam and blamed the military for shackling the free press.

One of the more disturbing quotations was reported to have been made by UPI foreign news analyst Phill Newsom, who said: "It is doubtful * * * if the story of U.S. Marines burning a village near Da Nang ever would have come out if newsmen had not seen it."

Newsom, of course, was referring to a CBS television report of the burning of Cam Ne—a report which aroused much controversy at home because it suggested that marines arbitrarily burn Vietnamese villages. He implied that a hard-digging U.S. press corps took on a hard-to-get-along-with-U.S. Marine Corps and uncovered a terrible secret.

If this were true, then bully for the newsmen.

But it wasn't true. The fact is that it is doubtful if newsmen ever would have seen the village razed if it weren't for the U.S. Marines inviting them to the burning.

I was at the Da Nang press camp when the Marine invitation was extended. I turned it down because I had a previous commitment to go on an air raid aboard a B-57 fighter bomber. The squadron took newsmen on flights one day a week.

The real reason for burning Cam Ne, of course, was that it was a Vietcong stronghold and William F. Buckley, Jr., who also was quoted in the Rustin article, made this point clear.

To report properly the story of the Marine operation at Cam Ne would have meant explaining that villages and their civilian populations play a key role in guerrilla warfare.

This is the why of the story, which of course is too complicated to make a good lead.

One of the major problems facing U.S. forces in Vietnam is being able to distinguish friend from foe.

The Marines, like all the services there, are aware too that they must win the people if they are to win the war and they lean over backward to avoid antagonizing local populations.

It must have taken Marine intelligence a long time to determine for certain that Cam Ne was a Vietcong stronghold.

Then, when they decided to destroy the village, they invited the press to come along.

Is it any wonder that they became annoyed when stories of their operation depicted marines as no better than SS troops who burned villages and pushed around women, children, and old men?

But even more annoying to military men in Vietnam is the caliber of many of the correspondents out there.

A ranking Pentagon officer observed recently that editors told him they were having difficulty getting good newsmen to cover Vietnam.

The problem, he said, was money. It costs about \$1,300 round trip to fly a newsmen to the other end of the world and for that amount of cash you would expect him to stay for a while.

But if he is an experienced newsmen he has a wife and family so the news service would have to bring them along and settle them in Hong Kong or Bangkok.

Add periodic trips for the newsmen to his family, additional life and accident insurance, education expenses for the kids and war becomes an unprofitable news story.

As a result, the Pentagon officer said, "American news services are hiring people out there they would never touch at home."

It's obviously cheaper to pick up a passel of young stringers who have already paid their way to Vietnam and who will work for peanuts.

In an effort to encourage the U.S. press to cover the war in Vietnam, the Defense Department last year flew 84 newsmen to southeast Asia.

"We did it, frankly, to prime the pump," the Pentagon officer said.

The military believed that by encouraging more newsmen to come to Vietnam, competition would become keener, resulting in less sensational stories and in more straight reporting.

The project was discontinued last summer as escalation of the war began in earnest because "we reasoned the American press was interested enough to pay its own way to Vietnam."

It didn't work out that way.

Of the 106 civilian news organizations from around the world who were represented in Vietnam last August, about 40 were American. Of the 260 newsmen present, approximately 175 were American.

Three months later, in November, the number of news organizations in Vietnam had increased to 136 but the proportion of U.S. services to the total rose less than 10 percent while U.S. troop strength had increased by the tens of thousands.

Of the 296 accredited newsmen covering the war, fewer than half were Americans. Foreign newsmen were hired by nearly all the American media. In some of the larger organizations 20 to 60 percent of the staff was foreign.

In the last 2 weeks of 1965, the number of U.S. services and staffers had begun to increase slightly, according to a Pentagon official.

Obviously, a certain number of foreign newsmen are needed on American staffs to overcome language barriers. The rest probably are hired to overcome budgetary problems.

I remember meeting one of these non-American U.S. correspondents the day after the Cam Ne incident. We both were leaving Da Nang. He was carrying a pouch of tele-

vision film, which he was bringing to Saigon. I was returning to Pleiku.

We were picked up at the press camp by two U.S. enlisted men who were ordered to drive us to the airfield where we were to catch a military flight south.

On the way to the airfield my colleague began berating the two enlisted men over the Cam Ne operation.

He implied that the Marines were no better than the Gestapo.

"Imagine you Yanks burning a village. I never saw anything like that in my life," said this correspondent, who obviously was too young ever to have covered a war before.

Enlisted men are taught to treat civilians with respect, especially if they are from the press. The two GI's looked at each other but said nothing.

I tried, at first, to keep from getting involved, because we newspapermen have to stick together even if we're wrong.

But his criticism continued and finally I said, "For Christ's sake, shut up."

He looked at me in surprise. Then he said, partly as an explanation, partly as an appeal to my journalistic loyalties and partly to get the last word in:

"But I actually saw a Marine push an old man around."

I thought of the night I had spent with a Marine company surrounded in a jungle outpost by 300 Vietcong. I remembered the next morning walking down a road with a Marine sergeant who smiled at all the villagers he met because he couldn't tell the good guys from the bad guys and he didn't want to antagonize friendly Vietnamese.

I thought what a crazy, mixed-up war this is, where you can't tell the front from the rear, Vietcong from Vietnamese, civilians from soldiers. I turned to this young correspondent and very gently said:

"Look, it was a Vietcong village. How did you expect the Marines to handle that situation?"

He hesitated for a moment, then said, "Why don't you Yanks get out of Vietnam?"

And if he is typical of U.S. press representation in Vietnam, then the military people there have been very kind to us.

THE POVERTY PROGRAM IN SANTA CLARA COUNTY, CALIF.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. GUBSER] is recognized for 30 minutes.

(Mr. GUBSER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, as I pointed out to the House yesterday in a special order, the poverty program in Santa Clara County, part of which I am privileged to represent, is in danger of ending in dismal failure, due to the fact that it has been infiltrated by left-wing extremist groups.

As a result of this infiltration, responsible, substantial, and capable citizens, without whom the poverty program cannot possibly succeed, are leaving the program in frustration and in disgust.

In an effort to do something to assure that the worthwhile objectives of the poverty program can be achieved and save it from failure in Santa Clara County, I asked the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Mr. Sargent Shriver, on last Wednesday, to thoroughly investigate the program in

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Santa Clara County. As yet I have not received a reply from Mr. Shriner.

I would point out that the criticism leveled at the poverty program in Santa Clara County has not diminished, while Mr. Shriner has been considering my request for a thorough, complete, impartial, and unbiased investigation of the program.

Yesterday I read into the RECORD an article by Mr. Harry Farrell, the distinguished political reporter for the San Jose Mercury and News, which was the first of a four-part series. Today, as further evidence in the continuing exposé of a left-wing and right-wing infiltration into the poverty program in Santa Clara County, I would like to read the second of that series into the RECORD. I quote from the article which appeared in this morning's San Jose Mercury in San Jose, Calif.:

The doorbell rang on February 23 at the Sigma Pi house, in the "fraternity row" district east of San Jose State College, and was answered by one of the brothers, 19-year-old Garth Steen.

Thereupon began one of the wackiest episodes in the whole Alice-in-Wonderland existence of the Santa Clara County Economic Opportunity Commission.

The caller was a war-on-poverty canvasser, assigned to go door to door, turning out the poor for a meeting that night at EOC headquarters.

Fraternity man Steen estimates that the annual income of his family, in the Central Valley, is probably in the five-figure range. But since he himself is a college kid not regularly employed, his personal income last year was only around \$800. That made him poor in the eyes of the EOC.

It is one thing for San Jose State College students to receive poverty war work study jobs, to help them work their way through college. It is quite another thing for these youngsters—including undergraduates not yet old enough to vote—to be voted onto the boards which actually call the shots for the EOC.

Yet that is what is happening and the radical fringes of the San Jose State College student body are moving into the program like gangbusters.

Because Steen had heard a lot about the war on poverty and had some questions about it, he decided to attend the meeting to which the canvasser invited him.

When he showed up that evening, it turned out that the business at hand was to elect the representatives, delegates and alternates for the EOC in two subareas in East San Jose's area 4. These people would help run the area 4 service center, with a budget of about \$122,000 and the stated purpose of coordinating all services for the poor within its territory. They would also elect the area 4 poverty representatives on the countywide EOC board.

Steen learned that his fraternity house residence was in subarea 13, bounded by East Santa Clara, 10th, William and 17th Streets, which had an estimated population of 3,975.

According to EOC philosophy, the spokesmen for the poor in this subarea, embracing 35 city blocks, should have been chosen by the town meeting techniques of pure democracy. The policy was to have the broadest possible participation.

Well then, what teeming masses turned out for the subarea 13 election?

They consisted of exactly three men: Steen; Donald Kantor, a San Jose State College freshman from Atherton; and William T. Fitzhugh of 485 South 12th Street,

Since there were three EOC jobs to be filled—representative, delegate, and alternate—it was just a matter of dividing the spoils.

Steen, who had scarcely given the local antipoverty war any serious thought before he went to the meeting, returned to the Sigma Pi house that night as the EOC's subarea 13 representative, duly elected for a 3-year term. By the time it ends, he will be old enough to vote.

Kantor became Steen's alternate, and Fitzhugh became the elected delegate to help choose the area 4 spokesman on the countywide EOC board.

The real irony lies in the past political affiliations of Steen and Fitzhugh.

Steen is a stalwart of the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF). He says he is essentially an average Republican (or will be, when he's old enough), but at YAF headquarters, where the prevailing attitude is somewhere to the right of Goldwater, they're chuckling about how they got "their man" into the EOC without even trying.

Fitzhugh, by contrast, last year offered the use of his home and telephone to the "Individuals for Non-Violent Revolution." INVR put out an "end the draft" dodger about the time of the Vietnam Day demonstrations in Berkeley, assailing the Selective Service Act as a violation of the constitutional ban on slavery and involuntary servitude. The dodger bore the same address and telephone number now listed for Fitzhugh in EOC records: 485 South 12th Street, 295-3407.

"Bill Fitzhugh" also appears as a signer of the "Support Stanton on Vietnam" ad that ran last year when Assemblyman William F. Stanton's opposition to the war was a flaming issue. The advertisement, as mentioned Wednesday, was sponsored by Attorney John Thorne, who was active in concert with Fred Hirsch in the maneuvering that ousted former EOC Director Arthur Potts. Hirsch's wife, Virginia, works in the Thorne-Stanton law office, incidentally.

If the EOC election in subarea 13 was a farce, the one for subarea 9, just to the west, appears to have been—in the famous phrase of Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty—"stacked, rigged, wired, and packed."

About a dozen persons showed up for the subarea 9 meeting, held concurrently with the subarea 13 election. Most of them were recognized as the inner circle of campus radicals at San Jose State: the "friends of SNICK," the antidraft "Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)," the bearded beatnik types.

Steen asked some of these SNICK people if they knew Hirsch, who by this time was popping up everywhere in EOC affairs, and they said, "Sure, he's working with us all the time."

One of those who turned out for the subarea 9 election was John Hansen, mentioned Wednesday as the literary editor of the leftwing "New Student," and admitted destroyer of civil defense shelter signs.

The outcome of the subarea 9 election was predictable: The college leftists took over.

Elected to the 3-year term as representative was goateed Raymond Ashley, who was one of the recent antinapalm demonstrators against United Technology Corp. The chosen delegate was Tom Linebarger, well known campus leftist.

Ashley's alternate for subarea 9 is Irene Clark, a graduate student at San Jose State College.

Thus Ashley, Miss Clark, and Linebarger constitute the EOC representation of the poor for an area of about 50 city blocks, with a population of 4,916.

Since these Spartan students were elected to represent the poor in the poverty war, the students, as such, were theoretically without

representation. So it was decided that the area 4 board should have a student at large too. He is Armando Velez.

But there was still another opening for a representative at large on the board, and this also was snagged off by a student, Billy Bates Cole. Last year he was treasurer of SNICK, in which Hirsch is so active, and he took part in the antinapalm demonstration at UTC.

Cole pops up all over in the war on poverty, both as board member and beneficiary. In his role as a student, he has been assigned under the work-study program to assist the Mexican-American project of the community council at \$2 an hour.

Another San Jose State College student with more than one poverty war capacity is Lee Garrett, who served on the EOC's area 4 planning and work committee. He is also on a work-study assignment to the University of California Institute of Governmental Studies. He was another signer of the "Support Stanton on Vietnam" ad.

If the far-left establishment has scored some notable successes in capturing sensitive outposts of the antipoverty war, the right-wing-conservative establishment has demonstrated the same capability.

Last year when the EOC set about organizing its area 6 committee to fight poverty in Saratoga, Monte Sereno, Los Gatos, Cupertino, Campbell and way points, the conservative element so active in that part of the county got busy with a telephone campaign.

Insiders insist that no formal or deliberate action was taken, within any organized Republican or conservative group regarding intervention in the EOC. But as one source said, "it is true that friends will call friends," and there was at least one caucus among conservatives where a plan of action was worked out."

The end result of this action was that when the first area 6 KOC council was elected last November 22 its 18 members included at least 16 Republicans of varying degrees of conservatism.

Among them were five members of the Cupertino Republican Assembly (who statewide parent organization is currently run by the rightwing), including three of the group's board members: Charles Hinton, Fumio Toya and Wally Phelps.

The conservative United Republicans of California (UROC) was also represented with at least three delegates: Vera Ladd, Bill Ellis, and Wendell Hammon.

One delegate elected from the Saratoga area was Mrs. Diane Ravizza, whose husband Eugene, was Santa Clara County cochairman of the Goldwater-for-President campaign.

Accordingly to knowledgeable sources, possibly 2 of the 18 EOC board members chosen in the November 22 area 6 election were members of the John Birch Society. The one known member is Max Kernaghan, a Birch chapter leader.

One other delegate, Mrs. Mary Rice, is the wife of a former Bircher, Houston Rice, though she is not a member of the society herself. There is also one delegate who has attended some Birch meetings but has not joined the society.

For a number of reasons, the EOC refused to recognize the controversial board which included these people. A new area 6 ad hoc committee was formed to get the West Valley program back on the track. It is still trying.

That concludes the second installment on the poverty program in Santa Clara County as written by columnist Harry Farrell for the San Jose Mercury and San Jose News. I read it into the RECORD to emphasize again the point I have been trying to make repeatedly in past weeks, namely, that this program in my con-

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als. There is no national reading service they could use except for the embossed and recorded books provided through the Library of Congress, but unless they are blind they are not at present eligible. There is practically no library service available to the 600,000 individuals whose eyesight is so poor that they cannot read newsprint, even with glasses. About 4,700 persons have lost both arms or the use of them. Some 8,000 persons have lost all their fingers, and 1,600 persons are in iron lungs or other respiratory devices which make ordinary reading difficult or impossible. There are also about 750,000 victims of multiple sclerosis, muscular dystrophy, cerebral palsy, Parkinson's disease, and other crippling ailments who are so disabled that handling books, magazines, and newspapers is impossible or extremely difficult.

It is shocking—a case of sad neglect—that, as the law stands now, only the 400,000 blind out of those 2 million handicapped persons are eligible to be served through the national books-for-the-blind program.

Several bills to extend that service to the near-blind, to quadriplegics, and to various other handicapped groups have been introduced during the 89th Congress and are now before us. The amendment I propose today would accomplish, I believe, the major aims of these bills. It would permit the Library of Congress to procure reading materials in appropriate forms, and the necessary machines for their use, and to distribute them to nonprofit agencies and organizations in the States for loan to any person so physically handicapped that he cannot read or use the kind of printed materials you and I can borrow from our local public library. To prevent any possible abuse of the program, the amendment provides that this disability be certified by competent medical authority, just as blindness must now be certified.

The amendment would also permit the Library of Congress to contract with agencies or organizations in the States when services could not otherwise be provided. Such contracting would probably not be necessary; however, if the same kind of incentives are given the States to provide library services to the handicapped as have been given them under the Library Services and Construction Act to improve regular public library services, first in rural areas and then throughout the States.

The bill to extend and amend the Library Services and Construction Act that has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative FOGARTY (H.R. 13697) contains provision for "State plans for library services to the handicapped." Senator LISTER HILL's bill (S. 3076), introduced in the other body, contains the same provision. Under such plans, States would receive Federal grants to help them inaugurate

or expand such services to meet the needs of the 2 million unfortunate handicapped I have described. Although the blind have had service through the co-operating State and local libraries, those libraries have had to bear the entire cost of staff, equipment, and buildings, even though the books for the blind are free. As a result, the service, with the best will in the world, has often been of uneven quality because there have been many unfilled needs for library service and the blind have had to compete for their share. Only about 100,000 of the 400,000 blind in the country now benefit from the program. In Texas, for example, the number of blind using the program increased 30 percent last year, but, even so, this represents use by only 16 percent of the estimated 30,500 blind in my State. More of the blind throughout the country would like to have this library service and those who now have it need more reading materials and better service. Passage of Representative FOGARTY's and Senator HILL's bills would, upon approval of State plans, obligate the States to step up their library services to the handicapped in general and would earmark for this certain supporting Federal funds.

This provision in Representative FOGARTY's and Senator HILL's bills make introduction of my amendment particularly timely, and even necessary, because the reading materials for the handicapped would largely be furnished through the Library of Congress. But, whether or not this provision becomes a part of the Library Services and Construction Act, and I hope it does, I believe that the act governing the Library's books-for-the-blind program should be amended to make it possible for the Library to furnish reading materials and machines to the States for the use of the physically handicapped who cannot use conventional books, magazines, and newspapers.

In our concern for improving the welfare and education of all our citizens, we must not neglect the needs of these handicapped to whom the information, the solace, and the inspiration from reading can mean so much.

ON

OF THREE POSSIBLE ENDINGS TO PRESENT WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA ONLY ONE WILL BRING PERMANENT PEACE

(Mr. PEPPER (at the request of Mr. EDMONDSON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, one of the distinguished citizens of Florida who has been a long time and eminent leader of the United Nations Association and a strong supporter of the United Nations is Col. Frank M. Dunbaugh. Colonel Dunbaugh is a man of broad knowledge

of and deep interest in international affairs. He is a student of the world and has traveled extensively abroad, recently in Asia. Colonel Dunbaugh on January 31 delivered an able address to the Miami-Coral Gables United Nations Association. I believe that address deserves the thoughtful consideration of my colleagues and of all those who read this RECORD. I, therefore, place Colonel Dunbaugh's address immediately after my remarks:

OF THREE POSSIBLE ENDINGS TO PRESENT WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA ONLY ONE WILL BRING PERMANENT PEACE

(Speech to Miami-Coral Gables United Nations Association by Frank Dunbaugh, Jan. 31, 1966)

Now that immediate peace through negotiation appears to be eluding us, the war in Vietnam offers three possible endings. Of these only one will bring permanent peace to southeast Asia.

The total population of this turbulent area exceeds those of the United States and Canada combined.

On a recent trip I found Filipinos ready to fight Malaysia and Indonesia over Borneo but fearing an attack from Red China because of our using bases in the Philippines to bomb North Vietnam. Cambodia is on the brink of war with South Vietnam and the United States because of border infractions by both sides. Despite impressive U.S. military support Thailand is plagued by infiltrations and revolutions in its northern provinces. Laos is already a battleground. Riot and revolution drove our party out of Indonesia. We found the airport in Rangoon jammed with Indians being driven out of Burma by the pro-Communist government. Many Burmese and Indonesian families are quitting southeast Asia in fear of turmoil and terror.

With disorder and unrest spreading from Bali to Burma a U.S. military victory in South Vietnam may prove to be only a pause.

What shall we in the United States do in this situation?

Roughly stated, we have three choices:

SOLUTION NO. 1

We can decide that southeast Asia is not our affair. Its problems are too complex, too far away. Orientals do not think as we do. Pull out of Vietnam. Pull out of southeast Asia. Leave them to handle their own affairs.

Suppose we follow solution No. 1 which has great appeal for many of us, what will happen? Our President's advisers believe that Red China will get its clutches on all of Indochina. Then Mao will grab India to the west, the Philippines, Indonesia and even Australia to the southeast. Thus Communist China will blow itself up into an unbeatable empire, the most gigantic in all history, an octopus holding more than half the world's population in its tentacles.

I am not in accord.

Communism will gain ground throughout Asia of course, but I do not believe that the peoples of southeast Asia, after throwing out the Japs, then the French, then the Americans will submit slavishly to domination by the Chinese, whom most of them loathe. One Vietcong leader said to an American war correspondent, "If the Chinese try to take us over we shall fight them just as we are fighting you now."

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Dr. Sadusk also said that Wyeth Laboratories had received a report of the eye difficulties from one of its physician investigators in December 1964, but didn't submit this information to the FDA until a Government meeting with industry representatives in November 1965.

Dr. Sadusk also offered some self-criticism; he said his bureau's medical officers in the late spring of 1965 were aware that DMSO was being widely distributed for unauthorized uses, "but immediate action to bring the situation under control was not taken." Dr. Sadusk added that there were sufficient legal grounds at that time to halt DMSO testing.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) News American, Mar. 9, 1966]

HOUSE PROBERS CITE RISKS—DRUG TEST GAPS CHARGED TO FDA

(By Leslie H. Whitten)

WASHINGTON, March 9.—House investigators called on the Food and Drug Administration today to explain why two controversial drugs—one an oral contraceptive—were tested on humans before animal tests were completed.

In both cases, serious side effects on the animals were reported: Breast cancer with the contraceptive MK-665 and eye damage with the much bally-hooed drug DMSO. No human cancer has turned up, but three humans reportedly died after DMSO was administered to them.

The hearings today were before the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, headed by Representative L. H. FOUNTAIN, Democrat, of North Carolina.

On the carpet were FDA Commissioner Dr. James L. Goddard; FDA Medical Director Joseph F. Sadusk; and Dr. Frances O. Kelsey, investigational drug chief who kept the baby-deforming drug thalidomide off the American market.

Dr. Goddard, who succeeded the much-criticized George P. Lerrick only a month ago, had new proposals ready for the committee today to protect humans from potentially dangerous experimental drugs.

They would tighten up FDA regulations to make sure thorough animal testing was completed before humans were used as guinea pigs for new and experimental drugs.

The committee, in preliminary probes, showed little or no basis for the general public belief that dogs, rabbits, pigs, and other animals are always studied for new drug reactions before humans get the drugs.

The committee probers developed for the 2 days of current hearings these facts, many of them already made public by the FDA.

The MK-665 contraceptive was given to 30 dogs in doses 20 to 40 times bigger than human dosages by weight. After 27 weeks, six dogs were examined and there was evidence of abnormal cell growth, but no cancer.

After 52 weeks, six more dogs were examined; two had breast cancer, a third a benign tumor and a fourth abnormal cell growth. But 340 women already had been given the pill in four different cities—some as long as 6 months before the drug was withdrawn.

The pharmaceutical firm which made MK-665 plans a followup study on the women. Chemical makeup of the pill is different from pills now on the market.

DMSO was hailed only 3 years ago as a miracle drug for arthritis, skin diseases, headaches, and as a piggyback drug for getting other medicine into the system.

More than 1,000 medical investigators were using it experimentally on 50,000 or more people when an English laboratory discovered rabbits, dogs, and pigs got serious eye disorders after taking DMSO.

WORLD FOOD SHORTAGE

(Mr. OLSEN of Montana (at the request of Mr. EDMONDSON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, in the years before World War II, Asia, Africa, and Latin America supplied the industrial countries of the Northern Hemisphere with about 11 million tons of food products a year. Today, the industrial north supplies the underdeveloped southern part of the world with more than 25 million tons of grains annually.

This complete reversal of international trade in food products underlines a fundamental fact in the world today. That fact is, that the poor nations of the world are getting poorer in their ability to feed themselves.

Today, the only significant exporter of grains other than the United States and Canada, are Australia and New Zealand, and these two countries are farming at near capacity. The conclusion is that the North American farms have become the world's last granary.

This has ominous forbodings for the undeveloped countries of the world, and the leaders of these areas are painfully aware of the impending food shortage which they face.

But even for America, the world's food shortage has a great meaning, for the test of a nation's power in the years to come may be determined as much by its capacity to produce food, as by its ability to manufacture arms. The United States has been called a great power because of its vast industrial strength. Yet, in many ways, the power to produce food is just as important.

But, Mr. Speaker, while there is a growing responsibility upon the North American farmer; there is a great danger that our great capabilities will be not enough to meet the need of the future.

The food output per capita in the last 5 years has dropped 3 percent in Asia, and 7 percent in Latin America. If this trend continues, our farm surplus will be wiped out, and our productive capabilities will be severely challenged.

In light of these facts, Mr. Speaker, I believe it is time to take a long, hard look at the restrictions we have imposed upon our farmers. Perhaps the time has come for production incentives, rather than production restraints. The standard of living of the American farmer is our first loyalty. But America cannot and will not, stand aside while the rest of the world suffers in mass starvation.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS BOOKS FOR THE BLIND PROGRAM

(Mr. BURLESON (at the request of Mr. EDMONDSON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill to amend title 2, section 135, of the United States Code, which authorizes a program to provide reading materials for the blind of the United States, its territories, and possessions.

This program, which is administered by the Library of Congress, has been in existence since 1931. It reaches into and renders a fine service to every one of our States, as I know from my longtime experience as chairman or vice chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library. It is a highly appreciated program, through which books in raised characters—chiefly in braille—and "talking books"—books recorded on disks or on magnetic tape—and the machines on which to play the records are procured by the Division for the Blind of the Library of Congress.

The books are distributed through 32 cooperating libraries designated as regional libraries. The Texas State library serves the blind of my State. The machines are lent to the blind by State agencies for the blind. In Texas this is done by the State commission for the blind. The materials and the machines are lent without charge and the books may be sent free through the mails, because this is a service to the blind which Congress decided many years ago should be made possible by the Federal Government.

Over the years, the act has been amended to cover blind children as well as adults and to provide additional types of materials, such as talking books—as well as books in braille, which older people have difficulty in learning to read—musical scores, and instructional texts.

There is nothing wrong with this service as far as it goes—quite the contrary—but Members of Congress have been hearing from many sources that it does not go far enough. Under the present act, not even the near blind are eligible to use materials produced for the books-for-the-blind program; and other handicapped persons who, for a variety of reasons, cannot read or use conventional printed materials unfortunately are also excluded.

According to figures obtained from the National Center for Health Statistics and various national foundations concerned, there are about 2 million persons in this country who cannot read ordinary printed books, magazines, and newspapers because of impaired eyesight or other physical factors which make them unable to manipulate such material.

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What our quitting southeast Asia will bring about is fantastic confusion, plus several curious varieties of local communism in Burma, Cambodia, Laos, both Vietnams, Indonesia, probably Thailand and the Philippines. It will breed continued strife between petty dictators, internecine slaughter, spasmodic rebellions and finally chaos. Our whole world will worsen as a result.

SOLUTION NO. 2

Fight the war in Vietnam through to victory, whatever it costs. Then under the guise of advisers we can station U.S. troops in North and South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Burma, Thailand, possibly Indonesia until these states are ready to function as democracies in the western sense of the word. Some spokesmen in our State and Defense Departments are already talking of our occupying southeast Asia for 20 years.

What does history tell us about such operations?

The Romans distinguished themselves as wise and able administrators of conquered territories and yet the Bible reveals how fervently they were hated. The same may be said of the British and the French. They transformed India and Indochina from a hassle of barbaric tribes into a group of reasonably well governed states. Yet the hatred they generated more than half a century ago is a burning force in Asia today.

We stationed U.S. Marines in Haiti from 1915 to 1936; in Nicaragua from 1912 to 1925; in Santo Domingo from 1916 to 1924. What have been the results? Haiti has dropped back into government by voodooism. The other two became military dictatorships soon after we left. We all know what has been happening recently in Santo Domingo. Meanwhile our actions engendered fear and dislike throughout Latin America.

As Christians and truly patriotic Americans, let us make sure that we do not drift into solution No. 2 just because we have not planned ahead.

Before discussing solution No. 3, let us review briefly the background of the present situation in southeast Asia.

Southeast Asia's history has always been one of wars, conquerors, slaves in rebellion against emperors and priests. During the early 19th century new invaders, lordly white Europeans, sailed into southeast Asia with powerful weapons and advanced techniques. The native populations accepted the shackles of these overbearing white masters as the will of the gods. Then during World War II the Japanese drove the white men out of southeast Asia in one swift, brutal sweep.

That ended Asian awe of the whites. When Japan was finally defeated, Indochina refused to put its neck back into the yoke of French colonialism. Meanwhile India obtained its independence from Britain. We gave independence to the Philippines. The United States and the United Nations persuaded the Dutch to turn political control of Indonesia over to the Indonesians.

Frankly none of these areas was ready for independence. Today jingoism, communism, even beatnikism are breezing across southeast Asia ferreting out pockets of discontent. The whole area gives ugly indications of increasing turmoil in the years ahead. Walter Lippmann maintains that we are confronted by one of the greatest upheavals in the history of mankind. Back of it is the undisciplined determination of the people of southeast Asia to rid themselves of outside control.

Solution No. 3, does not contemplate turning any part of southeast Asia over to the Communists, nor even letting upon the prosecution of the war in South Vietnam. It does involve using Christian and Buddhist ethics to bring about lasting peace throughout the entire region.

Jesus taught his followers, "Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself." Buddha taught, "For give your enemies. Be friendly toward all."

Instead of relying wholly on annihilating the Vietcong armies in battle, this solution suggests that we urge the United Nations to start now helping southeastern Asians organize teams of Christians and Buddhists who will confer with officials, priests, teachers, farmers in Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Cambodia, both Vietnams explaining how peaceful cooperation can bring about a better life for every man, woman and child in southeast Asia.

While laying this groundwork among those who can obstruct or aid us, and who have the most to gain from genuine peace, let us quietly urge that the United Nations assemble a group of nonpolitical leaders of southeast Asia, including North Vietnam, plus observers from other nations, inviting Communist China to send representatives. Even though North Vietnam and Red China may refuse to cooperate, the impetus toward forging a genuine and permanent peace will have a telling effect because this effort will be spearheaded by people from southeast Asia not other parts of the world. These leaders will start at once making preparations for creating one of the world's great agricultural centers out of nature's bounty on the peninsula and islands of southeast Asia. First of course, will be the Mekong Valley project which will bind Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and Vietnam together in one enormously productive rice bowl.

Native Indochinese speaking local dialects will use slides, radio, movies, pamphlets, Punch and Judy shows, the new TV telecasts from planes—and most of all their own personalities—to spark the imaginations of the ordinary people of southeast Asia with what they can create themselves with help from their neighbors through the United Nations.

To woo the Vietnamese away from the Vietcong leaders we must make it plain to them that this will not be a U.S. aid program. It will be an international missionary effort in the highest tradition of Christianity and Buddhism a truly Godly undertaking.

Any help we give will be through the United Nations and its affiliates. The U.N.'s Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East has already pushed the Mekong valley project beyond the planning stage. Meetings are also already being held to further the establishment of an Asian Development Bank similar to the Inter-American Development Bank in the Western Hemisphere.

By showing what the Mekong River project can accomplish in boosting rice production and other aids to the economy it may even be possible to convince the rulers of Communist China that they can obtain more food for their people through peaceful cooperation with the independent nations of southeast Asia than they can by spreading war and pestilence throughout the area fighting to gain political control.

To summarize: Our involvement in southeast Asia can be resolved in three ways: (1) We can pull out leaving the entire area open to internecine slaughter or domination by Red China; (2) we can fight through to total victory whatever the cost, then police 230

million people for at least a generation; (3) while continuing to prosecute the war in South Vietnam to the fullest, we can spark the United Nations into laying the groundwork for peaceful cooperation in rehabilitating southeast Asia with the people of that area working together, aided by the United Nations.

In this way we shall undermine the hold of the Vietcong on the people of southeast Asia by convincing farmers and villagers that the defeat of North Vietnam and Vietcong forces will not lead to a U.S. military dictatorship, but to a southeast Asia for southeast Asians living in peaceful independent freedom.

In Judo you use your opponent's strength to overthrow him. This program uses the emotions which started the war to end it.

(Mr. PEPPER (at the request of Mr. EDMONDSON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. PEPPER'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. CURTIS, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. BOLAND, for 30 minutes, on March 21; and to revise and extend his remarks.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee) and to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. QUIE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. GOODELL, for 60 minutes, today.

Mr. GUBSER, for 60 minutes, on Monday, March 21.

Mr. ROONEY of New York (at the request of Mr. EDMONDSON), for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts to revise and extend remarks and include extraneous matter in remarks made today.

Mr. WRIGHT and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. MILLER in five instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. BROOKS.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. GUBSER.

Mr. QUILLIN.

Mr. MATHIAS in three instances.

Mr. HOSMER in three instances.

Mr. BOB WILSON.

Mr. McCLOY.

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Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee.
 Mr. MOORE in four instances.
 Mr. WYATT.
 Mr. WIDNALL in two instances.
 Mr. Bow in five instances.
 (The following Members (at the request of Mr. EDMONDSON) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. FOGARTY.
 Mr. MOSS in six instances.
 Mr. CASEY in two instances.
 Mr. ADDABEO.
 Mr. McFALL.
 Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD in two instances.
 Mr. MORRISON.
 Mr. OLSEN of Montana.
 Mr. MOORHEAD in five instances.
 Mr. RYAN in four instances.
 Mr. DANIELS in two instances.
 Mrs. SULLIVAN in three instances.
 Mr. BINGHAM in two instances.
 Mr. McCLORY (at the request of Mr. HALL) and to include extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. EDMONDSON) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania in two instances.
 Mr. FLYNT in two instances.
 Mr. RANDALL in three instances.
 Mr. ROGERS of Florida.
 Mr. GONZALEZ in two instances.
 Mr. NEDZI in two instances.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn. The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 31 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, March 21, 1966, at 12 o'clock noon.

REPORT OF EXPENDITURES OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS INCURRED IN TRAVEL OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES DURING 1965 AS REQUIRED BY THE MUTUAL SECURITY ACT OF 1954, AS AMENDED BY PUBLIC LAW 86-472 AND BY PUBLIC LAW 86-628

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, section 502(b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended by section 401(a) of Public Law 86-472, approved May 14, 1960, and section 105 of Public Law 86-628, approved July 12, 1960, require the reporting of expenses incurred in connection with travel, including both foreign currencies expended and dollar expenditures made from appropriated funds.

The required reports for travel during 1965 are submitted herewith:

In further compliance with the provisions of House Resolution 605, there follows from

the accounting furnished the committee by the Department of State a list of the individual Members and staff members who traveled overseas, the cost of overseas transportation furnished by public carrier, and the identification of the agency of the U.S. Government furnishing transportation while overseas:

MR. POAGE

1. From the United States to Europe and return to the United States (commercial airline, paid in Dutch guilders by U.S. State Department) \$1,374.91
2. From Athens, Greece, to Turkey and return to Athens, U.S. Navy aircraft
3. From Cairo, Egypt, to Aswan and return to Alexandria, Egypt, U.S. Navy aircraft
4. From Alexandria, Egypt, to Malta and Rome, Italy, U.S. Air Force aircraft
5. Local transportation at the London, England, Airport (\$4.07), Hungary (\$11.28), and Greece (\$17.27) was paid by the U.S. Embassy in each nation

Please note that Mr. POAGE returned his commercial air ticket with a total of \$94.00 unused, and he incurred an unreimbursed personal expense of \$20 for railroad transportation from Budapest to Bucharest.

MR. PURCELL

1. From the United States to Europe and return to the United States (commercial airline, paid in Dutch guilders by U.S. State Department) \$1,356.66
2. From Athens, Greece, to Turkey and return to Athens, U.S. Navy aircraft
3. From Cairo, Egypt, to Aswan and return to Alexandria, Egypt, U.S. Navy aircraft
4. From Alexandria, Egypt, to Malta and Rome, Italy, U.S. Air Force aircraft
5. Local transportation at the London, England, airport (\$3.35) and Hungary (\$11.28) was paid for by the U.S. Embassy in each nation

Please note that Mr. PURCELL did not use all of his commercial air ticket and is now undertaking to return the unused portion. He also incurred an unreimbursed personal expense of \$20 for railroad transportation from Budapest to Bucharest.

MR. DOLE

1. From the United States to Rome, Italy, and return to the United States (commercial airline, paid in Dutch guilders by U.S. State Department) \$1,305.75
2. From Rome to Athens, Greece, and return to Rome (commercial airline, paid in Italian lire by U.S. Embassy in Rome) 165.90
3. From Athens to Skopje, Yugoslavia, and return to Athens, U.S. Navy aircraft
4. From Rome to Florence and Anzio and return to Rome (automobile transportation) paid in Italian lire by U.S. Embassy in Rome) 130.04

MR. OLSON
 1. From the United States to Rome, Italy, and return to the United States (commercial airline, paid in Dutch guilders by U.S. State Department) \$641.97

MR. TEAGUE

1. From the United States to Madrid, Spain, and return to the United States (commercial airline, paid in Dutch guilders by U.S. State Department) \$1,034.10

MR. MATSUNAGA

Overseas transportation provided by U.S. Air Force

GEORGE MISSBECK
(COMMITTEE STAFF MEMBER)

1. From the United States to Cairo, Egypt, and return from Rome, Italy, to the United States (commercial airline, paid in West German deutschmarks by U.S. State Department) \$1,185.50

2. From Cairo, Egypt, to Aswan and return to Alexandria, Egypt, U.S. Navy aircraft

3. From Alexandria, Egypt, to Malta and Rome, Italy, U.S. Air Force aircraft

4. From Rome to Athens, Greece, and return to Rome (commercial airline, paid in Italian lire by U.S. Embassy in Rome)

5. From Athens to Skopje, Yugoslavia, and return to Athens, U.S. Navy aircraft

6. From Rome to Florence and Anzio and return to Rome (automobile transportation, paid in Italian lire by U.S. Embassy in Rome)

165.90

130.04

HYDE MURRAY (COMMITTEE STAFF MEMBER)

1. From U.S.A. to Cairo, Egypt, and return from Rome, Italy, to U.S.A. (commercial airline, paid in West German deutschmarks by U.S. State Department) \$1,185.50

2. From Cairo, Egypt, to Aswan and return to Alexandria, Egypt, U.S. Navy aircraft

3. From Alexandria, Egypt, to Malta and Rome, Italy, U.S. Air Force aircraft

4. From Rome to Athens, Greece, and return to Rome (commercial airline, paid in Italian lire by U.S. Embassy in Rome)

165.90

5. From Athens, to Skopje, Yugoslavia, and return to Athens, U.S. Navy aircraft

6. From Rome to Florence and Anzio and return to Rome (automobile transportation, paid in Italian lire by U.S. Embassy in Rome)

130.04

¹ One-third of total transportation for Mr. Dole and committee staff members George Missbeck and Hyde Murray.

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With the onslaught of the great depression in the thirties, a few States resumed minimum wage legislation. In 1937, the Supreme Court—recognizing urgent needs voiced mostly by organized labor—upheld the constitutionality of such laws for millions of women who had begun to join their husbands in the depression drudgery of winning bread.

The crowning achievement, promoted by a dedicated labor movement, was the establishment of a Federal minimum wage in the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. By the time of the Korean war, nearly all States that lacked them had enacted minimum wage laws to supplement the Federal standard. Or, as in the example of Arkansas' \$1.50 daily minimum, to undermine the Federal standard.

Today there are those who would erase this painful progress with a split minimum wage—one for adults and a subminimum for youngsters.

Aside from discriminating against youth, which already has enough handicap in the labor market, subminimum pay for teenagers eventually would destroy the concept of a minimum wage for all workers. It also would revive a new national scandal of child labor exploitation.

Employers who now cry that youngsters aren't worth \$1.25 an hour would—with the enactment of a subminimum for teenagers in public service programs—suddenly discover that youth had all kinds of attractive work qualities.

Splitting the minimum wage, as unfeeling eggheads recommend, is a medieval solution. Advocates of such a plan would be more faithful to their consciences if they recommended the policy which kings decreed after the black death ravaged Europe 600 years ago: Fix a maximum pay standard to prevent rise of wages above a level set by the employers who toaded to the kings.

For whatever reason, can a Great Society afford to countenance subminimum wages for anyone?

Erin Go Bragh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 17, 1966

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, today we celebrate the feast day of St. Patrick, the patron saint of the Emerald Isle, truly as the old song says, "It's a great day for the Irish." But it is typical of the Irish that they share their great day with people of all nationalities and as I look around the Chamber, it is easy to see that on this wonderful day when we commemorate the memory of the apostle to the Irish, everyone is an Irishman for the day.

Ireland is a small country as countries go but Ireland is not merely the 4 provinces and the 32 counties that lie between Cobh on the south and Belfast on the north. Rather Ireland is the millions of persons of Irish descent whose ancestors left Hibernia—a name which is of Latin extraction, I might point out—during one of the times of "throuble" and settled in the United States, the Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other places throughout the world. With them the Irish took their

love of home and of God and a pride in their Celtic heritage.

An indomitable race, the Irish have always exhibited a patriotism and pride in their adopted lands which is second to none. Indeed, in every one of our wars, the presence of the Celt has always been more than evident.

Mr. Speaker, this Nation on this day, owes much to its citizens of Irish extraction. I join with Irishmen everywhere in a fervent, Erin go bragh.

United States Must Expand Domestic Fishing Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 17, 1966

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I urge that the Food and Drug Administration approve the use of fish protein concentrate for human consumption. Approval of this concentrate would give many benefits, a major one being the expansion of the U.S. fishing industry.

The United States has now slipped to fifth place among fishing nations of the world. It is ridiculous that this Nation should rank behind Peru, Japan, Red China, and Russia as a producer of seafoods. Even more absurd is the fact that nearly 62 percent of the seafood eaten by Americans is imported from foreign nations.

Each year Americans spend up to \$600 million for imported seafood, and the State Department has allowed Soviet sales of seafoods in this country.

In view of the increase in Cuba-based Russian fishing trawlers operating in the South Atlantic and Gulf areas near Florida, I just wonder whether these Soviet seafoods sold in the United States will be taken from grounds once dominated by Florida fishermen?

American fishermen now take only 5.1 percent of the total fish caught throughout the world. Russia's catch is almost double that of this Nation. In addition, the U.S.S.R. is placing a greater national priority on its fisheries, while U.S. fishing is declining.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, as a first step toward revitalization of the American fishing industry I urge the Food and Drug Administration to approve the production of fish protein concentrate, or fish flour. This concentrate, which is produced by pulverizing the entire fish, sanitizing it, further reducing it to fine white powder, would then be used as an additive to human foods. It has been suggested that the cereal and grain industries use the additive to fortify their products. Also, markets for such product in undeveloped nations could be quite large.

Studies show that if only the unharvested fish caught from U.S. coastal waters were used for fish concentrate, sufficient high quality protein would be

provided to balance the diets of up to 1 billion people for 300 days. This diet supplement could be accomplished at a cost of approximately one-half cent per person per day.

And if the FDA approved fish concentrate the U.S. fishing industry could sell over five times more fish than it is selling today.

Certainly a seafood producing State such as Florida would feel the immediate impact of this new market.

Project Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 17, 1966

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, Project Vietnam, sponsored by the Agency for International Development, has received very little publicity but, in my opinion, is doing a fantastic job in spreading goodwill in the villages of Vietnam. Under this program American physicians leave their lucrative private practices to give freely of their time for 8 weeks' service in the hospitals of Vietnam. They receive only transportation and a very small per diem. In my opinion, this program is one of the most successful which is sponsored by AID.

Dr. M. T. Merrill, who formerly practiced in my hometown of Gilroy, Calif., and who was well known for his leadership in civic activities, is now in Vietnam and has been writing a series of most interesting letters to the Gilroy Dispatch which it has printed. Dr. Merrill's experiences are typical of the unselfish service rendered by participating doctors in Project Vietnam, and I believe they will be of interest to Members of the entire House. His letters, as reprinted in the Gilroy Dispatch, are presented herewith:

DR. MERRILL WRITES FROM VIETNAM HOSPITAL

Dr. Lowe left yesterday, leaving the surgery in this place to me. Dr. Keit, 60-year-old Vietnamese surgeon, has a private practice in town and uses the hospital for that only. I'm expecting a lot of business tomorrow, because there's a big operation going on about 10 to 12 miles away tonight, wherein it is said that ARVN (the "friendlies"—Army of the Republic of Vietnam) are getting badly clobbered by the Vietcong. The 105 millimeter artillery at the far end of the bridge entering the town (about a quarter mile away) have been banging away tonight, as they do periodically, either firing at a specific target or in H. & I. (Harassment and Interdiction)—also known as "just stirring up a rice paddy" some 10 or 15 miles away.

I've slowed down on picture taking—didn't take any around the hospital until the last couple of days, not wanting to act like primarily a tourist—but will be hitting another spasm of using film now in trying to preserve and immortalize this dear, improbable place.

The only really disturbing thing about the whole situation here is seeing the death and injuries, in soldiers and babies, women and old men, and knowing that it is deliberate, man-caused destruction of pulsating people. At least I'm thankful that so far I've seen no casualties caused by my countrymen. But

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rest assured that I am well and happy and challenged and stimulated and safe and been "in country" (as they say here) a week already.

FEBRUARY 12, 1966.

Today is Saturday, and hospital goes onto night status (three or four nurses on duty for the whole place) at noon. However, I had to call the surgery crew back this afternoon, and have spent most of the day extracting grenade or mortar fragments—a bullet from a woman's back and grenade fragments from another woman's forearm this morning; a $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch grenade fragment from a girl's ankle joint this afternoon (she has others in leg knee, and thigh, which are still there); and then an old gentleman who was hit with a bit of some sort of metal fragment which went up through his buttock, rectum, bladder, and some loops of small bowel; I resected a piece of bowel, closed the bladder, did colostomy, and amused the surgery crew by taping a urethral catheter (a type of catheter) in—they seem not to be familiar with this and don't have a Foley in the place. There is a great problem of obtaining supplies and equipment here—this has to be done through Vietnamese channels and then (maybe) USAID channels, and hopeless delays are encountered.

FEBRUARY 16, 1966.

Today's was a neat experience—going to a "Med CAP" (Medical Civil Action Program) trip to Tu-Thau, about 6 kilometers from here, in an area just outside of the main village in a largely refugee area. We saw 260 people in a period of 2 hours in the morning and 2 hours after lunch—most were seen by the medics and I saw the ones they referred to me. The trouble is, of course, that one can rarely make a diagnosis, and can give little more than placebo treatment.

Our concepts of medical treatment are so foreign to these people that after they leave the treatment line they will often exchange pills for prettier colored ones, or give some to a friend—and if you give more than 2 days' supply, either they give it to the child all at once or the Vietcong will come in after we leave and confiscate it. Our No. 2 cook here at the house, the week before I arrived, found the big bottle of chloroquine tablets, took them home, and gave an unknown amount to her children; two died, and three became very ill indeed.

But anyway, it was a delightful and frustrating, hot, sweaty, discouraging, heart-warming, and intriguing experience. I wasn't carrying any grenades, but there were plenty of other people around (the Popular Forces troops) who were, and they hurried us away from the place about 4:15 because "too many Vietcong." The Vietcong seem to be a nocturnal breed.

One can drive many of the roads (selectively) around here in the daytime, but after 5:30 p.m. it has to be a real emergency to put anybody on the road outside of a military operation. The town here, itself, is well protected, but here too we are advised not to wander in the outskirts alone, nor to go out on the streets at night. Needless to say. I heed all warnings in my customary cautious fashion.)

We have admitted 6 cases of cholera to the hospital (one death) in the past 2 days, and have obtained 2 tents and 50 cots for an outside cholera ward.

Yesterday, as an example, my activities included:

1. Removed bullet and bits of tibia from 8-year-old boy (local anesthetic).
2. Removed bullet from compound fracture of femur in 10-year-old boy and inserted Steinman pin for traction (general anesthetic).
3. Inserted Steinman pin for traction, in man injured in bus accident.

4. Repaired perforated jejunum in man who fell out of Lambretta (a funny little three-wheeled bus).

5. Perineal urethrotomy for removal of stone in an old man with urinary obstruction.

6. Removed inclusion cyst of palm of hand.

7. Checked a girl with a gunshot (or grenade fragment) through the neck—no heroics required—doing well.

Plus making rounds, checking some X-rays, and trying (with mediocre success) to resuscitate a baby delivered by Bac Si Keit by Caesarian. Not all days are quite like that, but just about. Only here 1 week and already brimming over with experience, enthusiasm, etc.

FEBRUARY 21, 1966.

The USOM people in Saigon have suggested an R. & R. (Recreation and Rehabilitation) trip to Vung Tau for me for next weekend. Vung Tau is a beach resort town not far from Saigon, and is now a GI town largely, with bars, girls, swimming, girls, bikinis, girls, bars, and marines.

I have countersuggested a trip to Kontum, to visit one of the other Project Vietnam doctors and see some of the mountain country. If transportation can be arranged, I think it will work out. (The sad thing, of course, is that there are no bars, girls, swimming, girls, bikinis, girls, nor bars—only marines.) Also, and especially, I want to get a glimpse of the Montagnard way of life.

The past 2 days have been a welcome respite. Things slowed down Saturday, and Bac Si Keit was emergency surgery call, so yesterday (Sunday) I made rounds, and goofed off the rest of the day—slept, ate, whittled, slept, played an hour of badminton with Romeo Gloriani, showered, rehydrated, napped, ate, whittled, then wrote some more in the book.

Today for the first time I had time to see every patient and find some who had been lying about since long before I came, and needed attention—casts with decubitus ulcer, draining horrid wounds inside, etc., a couple of colostomies whose original problems I can't find out except that they were wounded many weeks ago, operated on in Saigon, then sent here. Still can't take care of things promptly as they should be, but if the Vietcong just stay slack on our province a few more days, we can clear house pretty well. There have been a couple of operations within a few kilometers of town last week which loaded us up with customers.

We're expecting another Project Vietnam doctor (surgeon) about March 7, which is largely why I'll be able to get away for a few days. It's such fun having the whole surgical show to myself that I'll probably be almost jealous when a surgeon comes.

Today I took on a new advisory capacity, and I think U.S. Agency for International Development will likely open a new agency just to develop it further. I saw a small boy flying a kite and the kite had just dipped down far below a tree top, so the string was getting caught.

The little tad was making that age-old mistake of winding in, but I pointed out to him that he should break the string and let it go, allowing the kite to fall to the ground on the other side of the tree. (I dare say this is one area of social action in which we are now ahead of the Vietcong.)

(Referring to a language class.) My teacher-students have reached an average number of about 1.4 per session. This time they were Ong Hong and Co Nga; he is North Vietnamese and she is south (as to the confusions resolved as we go). I'm making a bit of progress in Vietnamese—just enough to keep my interpreters, surgery crew, and one of the policemen behind the house interested in teaching me.

And many patients and folk in the town

get a good laugh out of it, too. I'm getting to the point where I sometimes now can tell when the interpreter hasn't asked the patient the question that I wanted. One of the interpreters keeps trying to tell me how to practice medicine, and I'm trying to slough her off on somebody else.

The doctor at the hospital in Can Tho said they had a mortality rate of about 40 percent. We are a much higher class though we have had up to three patients in one bed at times.

Of course, we do send out all the wounded soldiers and some of the more critically ill or wounded; but I believe we have only had three deaths in the hospital since I've been here—one baby with congenital heart disease (probably), one child with cholera who died in the emergency room, and a boy 15 years old who came in with three perforations of his ileum and temperature of 105, due to typhoid fever with necrosis of Peyer's patches. I did a bowel resection but he was too sick and died about 24 hours later.

(Have done a colostomy, two bowel resections, repaired a perforated jejunum, treated a knife wound of the chest with pneumothorax, a gunshot wound through the lung, done a perineal lithotomy, and treated many compound fractures and bullet and grenade and mortar wounds, closed a lacerated trachea in one Vietcong and circumcised another, opened some very large abscesses in some very small children, saw a woman with cholera receive 13 liters of saline intravenously in the first 232 hours and go home on the fourth day under her own power, treated a gunshot wound of the brain and another that nicked or contused the cervical spinal cord in a little girl, opened an abscess of the tongue, and caught three butterflies, and no diarrhea.)

This hospital is really becoming more activated since the Project Vietnam doctors have been coming, and especially since about mid-January when people began to learn that there was a surgeon here.

If time permitted, and the hostilities in the area stayed down to a dull roar, we could get some bits of classes and informal training going more than at present, and make quite an impact on the quality of medicine, because we have a generally good crew of competent nurses, without whom the place would be nothing but a flock of barns.

State Loses Another \$900,000 in U.S. Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 17, 1966

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include together with my remarks of preface the editorial which appeared in the Wheeling, W. Va., News-Register, of Tuesday, March 15, 1966, commenting on the war on poverty program in the State of West Virginia:

STATE LOSES ANOTHER \$900,000 IN U.S. AID

All through the structure of local and State government in West Virginia there runs indecision, ineptness and plain petty politics which manifests itself at almost every turn today.

West Virginia's pitiful showing in the much-heralded war on poverty program is just another example of how the State and local communities have failed to show initiative, imagination, and aggressiveness in seeking to implement the new processes introduced at the Federal level.

March 17, 1966

The rural areas development program has rested, and continues to rest, on two structures. The first of these is the committee made up of local leaders interested in economic development and improvement of human resources in rural areas. The second is the technical advice panel made up of the State or local representatives of the agriculture agencies together with people from other Federal agencies and from the State agencies. Beginning in 1961, rural areas development committees on a county and State basis were formed rapidly. For some months, we have had something more than 2,100 of these committees in operation. This is more than two-thirds of the number of counties in the United States.

In his February 4, 1965, message to the Congress, the President called for strengthening the rural areas development program through the provision of an outreach service wherein the field agencies of the Department of Agriculture would assume responsibility for rural people having full access to all of the services of the Federal Government for which they were eligible.

The President said:

"It is not easy to equitably distribute Federal assistance to a scattered rural population. Rural communities often lack the specialized organizations found in major cities which keep informed of development programs and initiate action to make use of them. Special measures must be taken both by the States, and by Federal agencies to reach rural people, particularly in remote areas.

"Since it is clear that an administrative office for each Federal agency or program cannot and should not be established in every county, a method must be developed to extend the reach of those Federal agencies and programs which should, but do not now, effectively serve rural areas."

This afternoon we have seen real evidence that local people were working together—and working together effectively to solve their problems.

As someone said this afternoon, once you start you can't let up.

As someone else pointed out, once you get one thing rolling, it is easier to get something else done.

I might add another success truism. If you find that you are started after something that won't work, don't be afraid to kill it and start over.

This job you are doing is different from anything a farm-oriented person has ever done before. This calls for working with bankers; with engineers; with chemists; with Madison Avenue salespeople. It involves working with other agencies. It involves long trips to see strange people.

But it can be done.

You will do it.

You are doing it.

Vietnam, by Wick Fowler, Correspondent for the Denton Record Chronicle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1966

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I wish to submit a series of articles by Mr. Wick Fowler, correspondent for the Denton Record Chronicle, Denton, Tex. Mr. Fowler has just recently returned from an extensive tour of Vietnam, and I feel that his articles are not only very timely,

but also self-explanatory of our position in South Vietnam; such as the enclosed editorial by Fowler.

Mr. Fowler was the first Texas newspaper correspondent in two wars. During World War II, in Italy, Fowler was one of four American correspondents injured when bombs hit a house on the Anzio beachhead. Among the others was the famed Ernie Pyle, later killed in the war in the Pacific.

I am also enclosing an article by Nat Henderson, staff writer for the Austin Statesman, Thursday, March 3, 1966—following an interview with Mr. Fowler:

TIME FOR COHESION

Vietnam is everybody's war. It is not an ordinary police action.

Whatever decisions are made in Washington as to how the situation is to be handled, Americans owe an obligation to the Armed Forces fighting for survival in this foreign land almost halfway around the world.

It is not a war limited to those who are involved directly. Many thousands more Americans will be in Vietnam before the conflict is ended. Many billions more in American dollars will be spent.

Many votes will be changed because of actions by men in public office. But these are small costs compared with sacrifices made by our men in Vietnam and by their loved ones back home.

Vietnam was a long time in coming, a gradual process of our foreign policies of many years' standing, to feed and secure nations of the world. It is a result of our stand, whether weak or strong, against Communist conquests of nations that wanted to have no part of them.

There is an ironic undertone to testimony at Washington hearings from military and political experts who now offer criticisms and solutions. The irony lies in the fact that many of them were in positions of power when the original policies were laid down and later pursued.

They now scream their criticisms, long after their horses broke out of the stable.

Isn't this about the right time for cohesion all over America and in many foreign lands? If we determine that the Communists will not listen to anything but guns, then we had better talk to them in an explosive language they understand. You do not have to be a seer to see that the longtime Communist doctrine is one of conquest of free nations, including the United States.

In the meantime, while Government officials are determining the route of the Vietnam war, Americans have many opportunities to give support to the men over there. They need supplies and they need moral support from home.

They need more supplies of a nature to win over the population, for this is a major side of the war. We must help in obtaining school facilities for the villages and hamlets, for education is one of the big answers to the riddle of denying communism's expansion.

Something of a practical nature needs to be done for the hundreds of thousands of refugees who have flooded Saigon and other areas. That is, they are to be returned to their home areas with higher ideals and ambitions to live under self-rule and freedom from terrorism, whatever its source.

It is apparent that the South Vietnamese need to become more aggressive in this war, for it is primarily their war for life itself. The government we are advising needs to learn the rudiments of democracy, real democracy. It needs to close that big gap between the hierarchy and the peasant.

Democracy and free elections are not something you can hand to a culture that is 4,000 years old and expect it to be understood. This will take years of education and ex-

amples of how a real democracy works. Right now, there is about as much understanding in Vietnam of democratic processes as there would be in explaining the Einstein theory to an elementary school dropout.

Our American boys in Vietnam are doing a magnificent job. But they need all-out support, unified support to win the objectives in this war. It is a war, not a police action.

The Reds understand strength, and power, and authority. They are anxious to sit down at a peace table when they are whipped.—WICK FOWLER.

[From the Austin (Tex.) Statesman,
Mar. 3, 1966]

REPORTER SCORES HOMEFRONT

(By Nat Henderson)

One of the top newsmen in Texas has returned to Austin from Vietnam with a call for escalation of the war on the homefront in tactical support of the troops on the battlefield.

"We're simply not measuring up here to the guys that are fighting over there," Wick Fowler says after spending 2½ months as a war correspondent in Vietnam.

"It burns me up to see the difference—a serious war there and a political war here.

"We think about losing votes—they think about losing lives," Fowler says in a reference to elected officials.

"We must concentrate more on supplies and equipment instead of debating on who started the war."

Fowler takes a dim view of the diplomats and private groups within the United States which worry more about what France and certain other nations think than about the actual American sacrifices in Vietnam.

"All Americans must get behind our fighters both morally and physically.

"Why waste away Americans to try to please some country across the world and out of the war?"

He adds, "As long as they're killing Americans, we've got to be more serious than pleasing another nation whose men are not being lost."

Fowler predicts a long war that will affect more and more homes as the casualty lists come out week upon week.

"When these strike closer to more families and their neighbors, then more people will realize that every American is involved in this thing. The tragedy unfortunately will wake them up," he says.

"But now, we've got a great bunch over there, and we're not giving them enough help and support by a long shot. We can't quite realize this is a serious war—not a political action or a little sideshow."

Fowler is critical of the misguided humanitarians who want to continue supplying North Vietnam with food and medical supplies but who in reality "kill more Americans" by doing so.

"The British claim they only send non-strategic supplies to North Vietnam, but when will people learn that all supplies are strategic in war? When will they realize that each bowl of rice only makes someone stronger and gives them the energy to make arms that shoot Americans or build roads that take enemy troops into conflict with our own men?"

Fowler also is critical of those who want to continue the war at a snail's pace in order to appease Red China.

"Nobody over there is afraid of the Red Chinese, and even if they were, they'd rather fight them now and there while they don't have nuclear capability," Fowler says.

While a controversy continues over supplying North Vietnam with nonstrategic goods, American soldiers in South Vietnam cannot get such nonstrategic items as lighter fluid and other goods needed not for war—but for comfort.

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he was commissioned an ensign. From July 19 until September 1941 Mr. Lebherz served as a reservist in Buffalo. He retired as a Lieutenant commander in 1948.

When he returned from his first naval tour of duty in 1920, it was as a copyreader for the Express.

In 1926 Mr. Lebherz became the city editor of the Express, but a year later moved over for a brief time as night editor of the old Buffalo Times.

That same year he returned to the Buffalo Courier-Express as city editor, a post he held for 12 years until he became the Washington correspondent of the Courier-Express.

Between 1939 and 1941 Mr. Lebherz covered the hectic Washington beat of the pre-World War II days, during President Franklin D. Roosevelt's third term.

On February 26, 1945, Mr. Lebherz came to the Buffalo Evening News as an assistant city editor and in 1957 shifted to the metropolitan area desk. He directed reporters and correspondents covering western New York outside Buffalo and nearby areas of Canada and Pennsylvania.

A Kenmore resident for years, Mr. Lebherz now resides at 192 Linden Avenue, Buffalo.

"I've got so many things to do that I almost don't know which one to tackle first," he said recently.

Almost is right. Mr. Lebherz made his first-things-first decision and currently is enjoying the late winter climate of Florida.

To: All Americans**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1966

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, recently an essay written by Rene G. Pichard and addressed "To: All Americans" came to my attention. Reading it I was immediately struck by the special appropriateness of its message for Americans of all generations but perhaps especially for the young. It is too easily passed off as a truism that Americans take their freedom for granted. Mr. Pichard's essay gives renewed testimony to the very real extent to which we are dependent upon and indebted to those who were not born Americans for an understanding and appreciation for what it means to be an American.

So it is we continue to profit from the observations made by Alexis de Tocqueville of "Democracy in America" in the 1830's. So too, can each of us benefit, I believe, from the personal testament of Mr. Pichard which won him a George Washington Honor Medal Award from the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge and, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to make available this prize-winning composition to the wider audience it deserves:

To: ALL AMERICANS

(By S/A Rene G. Pichard,
U.S. Air Force)

As a naturalized American, I have something to say to many native Americans: You have no idea how lucky you are to be an American. I say this because I have known a different way of life.

When the Nazis occupied my native country, I had the choice of working at the Ford

Motor Co. near Paris or of being deported to Germany as a slave laborer. I chose Ford and there heard about America's plenty and freedom. I resolved that if I survived the war, I would go to America myself. My wish was granted; in 1945, after many difficulties, I arrived in New York with my country's delegation to the United Nations.

What impressed me in America? The warmth with which Americans of all social classes received me, an unknown foreigner. The many churches of all creeds so crowded on Sundays. Complete freedom in the newspaper and in speech. American law, by which a man is considered innocent until proved guilty. Factory parking lots crowded with workers' cars, and the comfort in which the workers lived. The civic consciousness of so many ordinary Americans as reflected in charity drives, youth organizations, voters' leagues. The encouragement given education—scholarships, part-time jobs for students, night school classes for adults. (In my country, if one did not have the family backing to attend college in youth, a college education was forever ruled out.)

After 6 months in America I felt this way: The real greatness of America was not in the multitude of cars and refrigerators that American technical skill turned out, but in the ideals of liberty and justice that sponsored the wide distribution of these goods, and the free enjoyment of life with equal opportunity for all. Certainly these ideals had not been achieved in full, but Americans were striving hard to achieve them; they were living ideals.

Wanting to be a part of America, I found a way to apply for citizenship. When the Korean war began, I joined the Air Force, in order to serve my new country in uniform. I am still in uniform. The Air Force has made it possible for me to get an education and to develop myself in a way I could never have done in my native land. I can never do one-tenth as much for America as America has done for me. I have never for one moment regretted becoming an American. My only regret is that I am not eloquent enough to make some native Americans realize how precious are the freedoms they enjoy so effortlessly. Our freedoms are not something we can take for granted. If we are to keep them—and to extend them to every last one of our citizens, as we must in order to keep them—we will have to work and to make sacrifices. As one of the newer citizens of the world's oldest democracy, I think our freedoms are well worth the sacrifice.

Rural Areas Development**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 8, 1966

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a speech entitled, "Rural Areas Development," delivered by A. T. Mace, Deputy Administrator, Rural Community Development Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, at DeFuniak Springs, Fla., on March 4, 1966.

The speech follows:

RURAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Koerber, on the part of the Department of Agriculture, I congratulate you.

And I want to congratulate all of you for creating this opportunity to publicly recognize the initiative and drive of one of your citizens.

Whole communities that should be moving forward, keeping up with the national economic growth, often feel frustrated and do not know where to turn. Through this public recognition of Mr. Koerber, community leaders throughout rural America should recognize a little more clearly that answers can be found, that economic growth, and progress and the improvement of human resources can take place.

I had the opportunity to come to Florida today with Congressman Sikes. During the trip he expressed in many ways his pride in the progress the counties in this area were making.

Mr. Congressman, I have visited with some of the people in your district and have seen some of these accomplishments. You have a right to be proud of what is taking place.

The purposes of rural areas development have been, and are today:

1. To increase the income of people living in rural America—per person and per family—and to eliminate the causes of underemployment.

2. To expand more rapidly the job opportunities by stimulating investments in rural America in all the enterprises and services that make up a modern economy—factories, stores, recreational enterprises, crafts and services of all kinds, and technically trained and other professional people.

3. To develop rapidly but in an orderly way a wide range of outdoor recreational opportunities on privately owned and public lands—recreational opportunities to serve the needs of a growing population in the cities and towns and rural areas.

4. To readjust land use, nationwide, to achieve a balance so that each acre and resource are used for purposes to which they are adapted, and to meet national needs.

5. To preserve and improve the family farm pattern of American agriculture.

6. To provide appropriate services and adequate financial support for the protection, development, and management of our soil, water, forest, fish and wildlife, and open spaces.

7. To improve existing rural community facilities and institutions and where needed to build new ones so that people in our rural areas are assured pure water supplies, first-rate schools and hospitals, adequate streets and roads and other services that are standard in a modern community.

8. To make continuous and systematic efforts to eliminate the many complex causes of rural poverty.

Despite the productive triumph of the agricultural segment of the rural economy, the rural areas have not shared equally with the rest of the Nation in income, in job opportunities, and in resources for human development.

The 1960 census showed median rural income at \$4,381 compared with urban income of \$6,166.

Almost half (46 percent) of the families with money incomes under \$3,000 live in rural areas—although fewer than one-third of America's households are rural.

Rural America has almost three times the proportion of dilapidated and substandard houses as urban America.

Educational preparation of schoolteachers is lower in the rural areas. A recent National Education Association study shows 39.2 percent of the rural teachers with no degree. The comparable urban figure is 10.9.

Emergency services, including ambulances, are often inadequate or nonexistent in rural areas.

Unsafe waste disposal and water supplies present health hazards in many rural communities.

The ratio of physicians and surgeons per 100,000 population was 178 in central cities of metropolitan areas and 52 in rural areas in 1960.

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"The PX in Saigon has anything, but those in the north—fighting zone—have nothing. It's not a problem of shipment but lack of distribution," Fowler says.

"The Government could straighten out this if it would," he adds.

Fowler, who traveled in Vietnam as a correspondent for the Denton Record-Chronicle, went into the field looking for Texans while carrying a German camera, Japanese film, and Italian typewriter.

"Texans were everywhere, and there were more aggies than at a muster. At Da Nang alone I found five aggies and one teaspisser," Fowler said in a humorous vein that has made his reporting popular wherever he goes.

But the smile faded as he returned to the serious side of his trip to Vietnam.

"Why do we play politics with lives? We haven't lost anybody in a political campaign."

Macon, Ga., Telegraph Selected To Receive Georgia Education Association Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.
OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 17, 1966

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, March 16, 1966, the Macon, Ga., Telegraph received the School Bell Award presented to the outstanding daily paper of the year by the Georgia Education Association for outstanding school news coverage. Specifically, the award was made for excellence in reporting and/or interpreting the objectives and goals of education.

It is significant that this award takes place when, today, almost 1,000 correspondents representing over 500 news-gathering agencies are reporting from the House and Senate Press Galleries of this Capitol. These journalists are dedicated people who perform a valuable service to the public, to their employers, and to the Nation. These are the people who record the events of today which become our country's history.

Equally important, however, are the unmentioned chroniclers who constitute the administrative staffs of the news media, for it is these people who are responsible for putting the news into its proper perspective. It is therefore of special significance that the Macon Telegraph is recognized in such a manner.

Many man-hours and extensive personal cooperations are involved in producing a newspaper. The efforts of those involved are usually taken for granted by the average American citizen who purchases the finished product for 10 cents.

Being chosen the recipient of this award illustrates the fine job that the Telegraph are doing in keeping the public informed of school activities, which are a vital part of the life of any community.

Mr. Speaker, I congratulate the ownership and staff of the Macon Telegraph, and include in the Record an article

which appeared in the daily press of Georgia on March 16, 1966:

THE TELEGRAPH SELECTED TO RECEIVE GEA AWARD

ATLANTA.—The Macon Telegraph has been selected to receive one of four School Bell Awards presented annually by the Georgia Education Association for outstanding school news coverage.

Editor William A. Ott will accept the honor at the School Bell Awards dinner, which will open the 99th GEA convention in Atlanta Wednesday night.

Other winners are The Swainsboro Forest Blade in the weekly newspaper category, WSB-TV of Atlanta in the television category, and WLFA of LaFayette in the radio category.

The awards are made for excellence in reporting and/or interpreting the objectives and goals of education. Nominations are made by members of the teaching profession.

The Telegraph was nominated by the Bibb County GEA unit, which is headed by Otho Pirkle, principal of Jessie Rice Elementary School.

The basis for the judging was a scrapbook prepared by Mrs. Juanita Kryslak of the Bibb unit's public relations committee. Other committee members who worked on the project are Chairman Mrs. Valree Flanagan, Mrs. Florence Sanders, Mrs. Jacqueline Harrison, and Don Edwards.

The GEA judges said of the scrapbook, "The content reflected good community support of education, good editorializing, and interest of newspaper in wide coverage. Information about activities of individuals and groups as well as the total school program was covered."

Receiving honorable mention will be the Brunswick News, Mrs. Constance Johnson of the Columbus Ledger, the Cordele Dispatch, the Warrenton Clipper, the Elberton Star, the DeKalb New Era, and North DeKalb Record. The Fitzgerald Herald, the Hartwell Sun, WATI-TV in Atlanta, WGST radio in Atlanta, and WSE radio in Atlanta.

The awards will be presented by Julian A. Pafford of Statesboro, chairman of the GEA school public relations committee.

Featured speaker for the dinner will be J. C. Bostain of the Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Slovak Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1966

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, March 14 is an important day for Americans of Slovak origin. It is the anniversary day of Slovak national independence. Public ceremonies marking this day will be held in many communities throughout the United States.

Great credit must go to the people of Slovakia for their unbreakable attachment to liberty and their struggles for the right of self-government. This spirit prevails in Slovakia today despite foreign occupation, the denial of elementary human rights and organized programs to destroy the ancient culture of her people.

There is increasing evidence that the new chains of imperialism on the Slovak

people are weakening under the popular pressure exerted by the people for freedom of expression and self-government. This is a tribute to their determination to reject foreign occupation and to fight on for a restoration of their national independence.

Mr. Speaker, anything we can do to encourage the Slovak people in this cause serves the cause of peace and world freedom. Over many years responsible national organizations have urged the Voice of America to establish a Slovak desk as a part of our international information program. I have supported that proposal because I am convinced the best way to demonstrate our friendship for the people of any foreign country is to speak to them in their own language, to recognize their cultural values, to encourage them in their just aspirations for self-government.

The Slovak people have always maintained a warm friendship for the people of our country and a keen admiration for our free institutions. It is time that we responded more fully to evidence our support for their struggles to regain their national independence. A Slovak desk in the Voice of America would provide comfort and encouragement to our friends in that unhappy land.

I salute the Slovak people on their Independence Day and join with their many friends in our country in the hope that they will soon regain their rightful place in the community of free nations.

What Inflation?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1966

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, amid the clamor to boost interest rates and taxes to ward off inflation, the voices of reason are beginning to be heard. A substantial segment of the Nation's business leaders see the dangers and the possible consequences of underestimating the continuing need for capital to sustain our economic growth.

The ingredients for classic inflation are not present in our economy today. Administered price hikes, profiteering, and speculation can exact a tremendous toll from the American people, and they must be brought under control; however, it should not be done in a way that slows the legitimate productive requirements of our economy. These malfunctions in the economy must not be permitted to push us into deflationary policies that are sure to bring on a recession.

Columnists Evans and Novak have expressed some of the concern that is felt in the business community over these proposed policies. I recommend to my colleagues their column, "What Inflation?" from the Washington Post of March 16, 1966:

March 1, 1966

WHAT INFLATION?

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)
 Just as the Washington consensus has come to regard an income tax increase as nearly inevitable this summer, a strong dissent is starting to be heard from a minority both in industry and on Capitol Hill.

That dissent boils down to this: Inflation today is more phantom than reality. The increase in the cost of living results more from arbitrary decisions of business executives trying to widen profit margins than from classical overheating of the economy. Under such conditions, a tax increase will do no good.

Consider the big tax package in embryonic form at the Treasury for possible submission to Congress this summer along with new Vietnam war appropriations. This package almost surely would boost income taxes across the board, for both individuals and corporations. The present 47-percent rate on corporations would climb to 50 percent.

But, ask the dissenters, to what good would this do? Their answer: Corporation executives probably would pass on the higher taxes to the consumer by raising prices to maintain profit margins. But if they cut back expansion and production because of higher taxes, the inevitable result would be the very shortages that lead to higher prices.

Thus, the stage is set for a massive struggle to influence President Johnson's decision. Never at home in the field of economics, he has been understandably preoccupied with the problem of Vietnam and has given little time to economics. But the time is near when he must decide whether to boost taxes.

Strongly in favor of raising income taxes are the Treasury, most of the official and unofficial presidential economic advisers, and Wall Street. Big finance in New York, obsessed by the threat of inflation, is in a panic demanding a tax boost.

Added to this powerful roster supporting a tax increase is the Federal Reserve Board headed by William McChesney Martin. This independent central bank has left no doubt that if the President does not boost taxes, it will fight inflation its own way. That means continuation of the high-interest rate, tight money policy that has restricted credit more than at any time since Eisenhower days.

But against this formidable array, there is now a dissent that asks: What inflation?

Some leaders in the automotive, steel, and electrical manufacturing industries believe the danger of inflation is greatly overblown. They worry about soft spots in the boom economy and a slackening off of demand, particularly in the auto industry.

To these industrialists, the real danger is the spiraling of interest rates induced by the Federal Reserve Board and its fellow-travelers in the banking industry—money being the one commodity on which the White House is unable to impose price guidelines. The fact that the Fed in continuing to squeeze the lending power of banks is viewed by one industrial leader as a "crude and cruel" method of controlling inflation that can lead to a slump and unemployment.

In fact, the dissenters are coming to feel that explosive combination of a big income tax increase and tight money could trigger the first recession of the Kennedy-Johnson era—a slump actually coinciding with rising costs in the Vietnam war.

But how can Mr. Johnson ask for higher spending on Vietnam without an accompanying tax increase? The dissenters' answer is to keep a full economy rolling, satisfying demand, and keeping prices down.

This would require much more credit than is available today. It would require a new monetary policy. One suggestion that may soon come privately to the President is to ask bankers to adopt a more selective lending policy—easy credit for increased production but tight credit for speculative purposes.

This emerging dissent on the basic question of inflation and taxation leaves the door barely open for the President to ignore his top advisers, all of whom favor a tax boost. A tax increase, followed by even a small economic slump just before the election, may give Mr. Johnson pause.

gram makes a lot of sense, both economically and ethically. We urge you to assist in its passage in any way that you reasonably can.

Two arguments on the dope issue fail to impress us. The first is a weird bleat from the weird beaters that the civil liberties of addicts will be menaced somehow by compulsory commitment for treatment. These same people have argued for years that the addict was not primarily a criminal, but rather a sick man. Now, when it is proposed to treat him like a sick man, like a dangerous schizophrenic, let us say, the cry of civil liberties is suddenly heard in the land. This is nonsense. The commitment proceedings under the Rockefeller program are as carefully controlled and as subject to due process as commitment proceedings for mental illness.

The other argument, which comes from the deepest beaters, is (if we may summarize): Dope is good for you. Beatnik poet Allen Ginsberg has expressed it best with his picket signs reading, "Smoke pot. It's cheaper and healthier than liquor." This is more nonsense. It stems from pseudophilosophers in the East Village and elsewhere who maintain that we are moving into an era of expanded consciousness achieved by marijuana, heroin and the very newest mind-benders such as LSD. There is no telling how many impressionable teenagers have been, and will be, seduced by this kind of intellectual posturing. Dope is not good for you; it is deadly dangerous. And there is no record of any musician, artist or writer improving his performance while being "high." Our congratulations to such community institutions as St. George's Episcopal Church which have presented eminently worthwhile programs discussing these plain facts.

We also will continue to discuss the plain facts about dope, and we will keep you posted on the status of Governor Rockefeller's comprehensive program.

Our Dope Problem—And Yours**EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF****HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES*Tuesday, March 15, 1966*

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a series of legislative proposals on the subject of narcotics, which is not only a problem in New York, but also in the Nation and throughout the world.

In my 17th Congressional District there is an outstanding weekly publication called Town and Village which has been seriously concerned with this problem and is conducting a campaign to ameliorate it.

In their issue of Thursday, March 10, 1966, there is an editorial describing the situation as they see it.

I include at this point in the **RECORD** this editorial, and I hope that all of my colleagues will have the opportunity to read it:

OUR DOPE PROBLEM—AND YOURS

To our way of thinking, the most important point in the dope story on today's page 1 is the spillover of addicts from south of 14th Street into the town and village area, looking for the easy victim who will provide property or cash to purchase the next "fix." As our anonymous reporter concludes: "We are, indeed, one city * * * and the problems of each of us have a nasty way of becoming the problems of all." Since many newspapers (including this one) have previously run exposés on dope, it seems to us that the distinction of this piece is its emphasis on the spillover phenomenon from slum neighborhoods into respectable ones.

In spite of good police work, the number of addicts continues to grow. As fast as the kids are picked up, other kids arrive to "turn on" in their place. We know from having talked with the officers involved just how discouraging a task it is to keep our streets safe and clean. The odds have been stacked against the police, until now, until the presentation by Governor Rockefeller of a comprehensive, coordinated program of compulsory treatment of addicts and more severe punishment for peddlers. More than 2 years ago Assemblyman Paul J. Curran and town and village staffer Pete Young anticipated the Rockefeller program with a proposal for compulsory civil commitment of addicts. It is refreshing to see their work (and the work of many others) now bearing fruit.

But keep in mind that what the Governor proposes is going to cost the taxpayers a lot of money. Many millions of dollars will be involved, especially for the bond issue that will be necessary to finance the construction of new treatment and detention facilities. From the most hard-headed accounting point of view, this is (in our opinion) a good investment. Various surveys have disclosed that dope addicts are responsible for about one-half the crimes committed in New York City. Addicts steal approximately \$1 billion worth of property and cash in this city alone, each and every year. So the Governor's pro-

Statehood Legislation for Hawaii**SPEECH
OF****HON. ROBERT B. DUNCAN**

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES*Monday, March 14, 1966*

Mr. DUNCAN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join with my colleagues today in celebrating the anniversary of the date that statehood legislation for Hawaii was passed by the U.S. House of Representatives.

The overwhelming vote of March 12, 1959, climaxed years of effort by the people of territorial Hawaii to obtain full citizenship status. It cleared the way for the Presidential proclamation which finally declared Hawaii to be our 50th State.

Beautiful Hawaii, often referred to as "the loveliest fleet of islands that lies anchored in any ocean," will celebrate her seventh anniversary as a State this August. And, it is an unusual testimony to the maturity of the democratic spirit of our youngest sovereignty that she, more than any other State, has recognized in both legal and living terms the essence of equality and tolerance.

Discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex, or ancestry is not only forbidden in Hawaii by law, but is a stranger to the harmonious spirit of one of the most friendly and polyglot spots on

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the maximum feasible participation of the groups served."

Everyone agrees that means the poor must be involved, but what is "maximum" and what is "feasible" and in what way shall they "participate"? As other articles in this series have shown, these questions are the source of bitter controversy in communities across the Nation.

Mayor Daley and his supporters say the poor are involved in Chicago's program, and there appears to be a good basis for the claim. But his critics don't agree.

The major opposition comes from a group called the Woodlawn Organization located in the heart of the South Side slums. The Woodlawn Organization, or TWO as it is called, was established by Saul Alinsky, whose community action groups have worked to achieve progress through such tactics as demonstrations, rent strikes, and political pressure.

CRITICS ASSAIL POLITICAL CONTROL

TWO wants a share of the Federal poverty money to be used to operate programs free of city control. In a recent issue of its own publication, for instance, TWO defines "the great issue before this Nation now" as:

"Can public funds finance basic, root reform of the social structure and values of America, by going to independent groups organizing the poor? Or will the billions coming from Washington simply continue, with much more expensive advertising campaigns, the present state among poor Negroes of alienation and degradation?"

To the Woodlawn leaders, the present war on poverty is "actually a war against the poor." * * * It is a war against us when money is used to buy off our rage against being confined to the ghetto. It is a war when public money is used to distract black people from building enough power to break out of the ghetto."

Stripped of its rhetoric, the complaint is that the poverty program is controlled by the ruling political power. In Chicago that means the Daley Democratic organization, the last of the big city machines.

Daley unquestionably does control the overall poverty structure. He heads the committee that runs the poverty program. He appoints the committee director who in turn appoints the program center directors. They in turn appoint the advisory committee members who are the representatives of the local communities. They pass on all poverty program proposals.

Arrayed against Daley have been militant local groups like TWO and, at least in the early days, an important segment of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington.

"They had a group in OEO that saw the program as an opportunity to reform the world, and they were going to start with Chicago," said a city official.

DALEY DEFENDS APPOINTIVE SYSTEM

Washington wanted members of the advisory committees, who were the so-called representatives of the poor, to be elected rather than appointed. Such an election will be held in Los Angeles on March 1.

Daley countered along these lines: in volatile Chicago such an election would tear the city apart and create animosities that would never heal. In addition, an election of that kind in Chicago, would mean only that every ward leader would make sure that his own handpicked man won.

To Daley supporters, the present appointive system "guarantees," as one official said, "minority representation." Debatable though that may be, that issue of representation appears to have been settled months ago, in private confrontations between Mayor Daley and Sargent Shriver, the head of the OEO (and the former president of Chicago's school board as well as the manager of the Chicago Merchandise Mart).

Today Shriver himself is as much a target of the militant groups here as Daley. When Shriver spoke in Chicago last December, the Woodlawn Organization picketed his appearance. Its members marched and waved such signs as "The War on Poverty Is Pure Brutality," "Your American Dream Is My Nightmare," and "End the War on the Poor."

The demonstration was not without its cynical aspects. One might conclude that TWO is not so much against the war on poverty as it is against not getting more money.

(At present TWO operates in part on a \$70,000 poverty grant, funded through the Chicago, or Daley, program, and has pending a \$700,000 leadership proposal.)

CITY'S PROGRAM MOVING AHEAD

While the struggle between the ins and the outs continues, Chicago is proceeding with its multimillion-dollar program.

When they set out to plan an antipoverty campaign, Chicago officials began with the general viewpoint that poverty stems from many factors, not merely lack of money or jobs. Education, health, housing, environment, recreation, cultural opportunities—all these are a part of the problem.

In addition, there are special problems in slum areas. As Dr. Deton J. Brooks, the executive director of the city's antipoverty organization, said in an interview:

"Long before I took this job I was writing the social philosophy that people had to be involved in their own destinies. You don't have to go far in Chicago to see that people are isolated.

"One of the basic problems had been an erosion of social and leadership services in their communities. When 5 o'clock comes in those areas, the social welfare forces leave and all that you have left are the forces of control—the police and firemen.

"Before people can help themselves, they have to have a chance to get the services, and I mean around-the-clock services, because a city like this never sleeps. The problems don't wait for a time when it's convenient for us to be there."

The solution, for Chicago, was the establishment of urban progress centers. These are outposts in the heart of the worst poverty areas of the city which bring services to the people.

CENTERS OPEN EVERY DAY

There are seven such centers. They range in size from a three-story building complete with a gymnasium to smaller structures with less elaborate facilities. Each center houses a number of public and private agencies. Among them are the county public aid department, the city housing authority, the youth welfare commission, the board of health, the State employment service and legal aid lawyers.

The centers are open 7 days a week, from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m. Soon they will be open on a 24-hour basis. They provide more than the basic social welfare services. Some, depending on needs in the specific area, are staffing mental health or retardation programs. In other, preschool and home economics classes are operating. Still others have programs for "senior citizens."

Each also has an office for making available small business loans to local firms.

What is most impressive about the centers is the sense of action and drive. You can visit any center, at any time of the day, and find people hard at work dealing with people in that community.

The response in the areas has been gratifying, if not overwhelming. People are coming, voluntarily, off the streets to find out about jobs, or housing, or educational programs, or with complaints about landlords or garbage collections.

In one center, for example, 43,000 persons came through its doors in exactly 1 year.

WORKERS LIVE IN AREAS THEY SERVE

But the most important part of the center concept lies outside its physical structure.

Each center employs a group of community representatives. Like most of the other employees of the center, they live in that area and they themselves were either unemployed or "underemployed."

The community representatives spend their time away from the center. Their job is to go from house to house finding out what the specific problems are. Then they attempt to bring those people to the center where they can be served.

These representatives are available on a 24-hour basis. Since they live in the neighborhoods, they have a better chance to gain the confidence of the residents. The centers now are publishing their own community newspapers of 4 pages with photographs and stories about the programs and people in their area.

As only one of the programs, teams of representatives are collecting urine samples from children in homes in an attempt to detect and treat cases of lead poisoning. Other groups are surveying buildings as part of a rat control program. Holes and cracks are marked, and then covered.

PRO AND CON ON ELECTION

An intensive effort is thus being made to reach the people in need. A house-to-house survey is now underway to identify the people who live in poverty, and to pinpoint their problems.

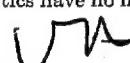
To some critics, such activity is only skimming the surface of the needs. The Reverend Lynward Stevenson, president of the Woodlawn Organization, has said:

"The northern power structures running the so-called war on poverty have dressed up the system a bit, but the idea is fundamentally the same: the Negroes must stay in the ghetto, because they are not human beings * * *. They are like animals in a zoo (and now) * * * it has been decided to dress up the zoo a bit with poverty funds."

Stevenson then sounds again a call for elected representatives of the poor.

Deten Brooks' answer is:

"I say you don't need a convention to kill rats. You may need an army, but not a convention. As long as we stick to bread and butter issues that people understand, these critics have no impact."


Support for U.S. Policies in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1966

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the charge is frequently heard that President Johnson is losing the support of American citizens in our fight for freedom in Vietnam. This is entirely contrary to the facts. But since the charge is often repeated and much publicized, it is in the national interest for such irresponsible accusations to be frequently and firmly refuted.

I have seen no finer expression of the true feelings of most Americans about the situation in Vietnam than an editorial which appeared in a recent issue of the Virginia Gazette.

The Gazette is one of the oldest newspapers in the Nation, having been founded in 1736. It is published in Wil-

earth. Hawaii's citizens come from every corner of the globe, and they have welcomed and returned in kind the gracious spirit of aloha.

It is interesting that Hawaii is not only a young State, but her citizens, also, are young and energetic. The average age of the island resident is 24 years old, younger than our national average. And they are educated young people. Hawaii's fine educational system can boast of having the highest university enrollment in proportion to population of any other State.

Culturally, Hawaii hopes to become a bridge between East and West. Her varied ethnic composition gives her a unique advantage in promoting international relations and understanding. In the summer of statehood, 1959, the University of Hawaii sponsored the third decennial East-West Philosophers' Conference. Over 40 leading philosophers from 11 nations came to the island paradise. Today Honolulu's newly constructed International Center can seat more than 11,000 persons in a theater-concert hall and arena complex.

Hawaii's natural advantages are abundant. Her warm equable climate offers year-round appeal to the vacationer. Her location in the mid-Pacific is ideally suited to international trade with the nations of Asia and the Pacific rim. Her strategic military value is unquestioned. So, also, is her value for the expanding research and development activities in the fields of oceanography, volcanology, and astronomy as well as in space vehicle and missile tracking and in the studies of solar radiation and other astronomical phenomena.

Hawaii, our most western and most southern extension of the United States, has been a beautiful and proud addition as our 50th State. The translation of her official State motto gives an inspirational reminder of her ideals: "The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness."

Already the home of a civilized and graceful people when first discovered by Capt. James Cook in 1778, Hawaii has bloomed through the dynasty of Kamehameha into the 20th century and statehood with enviable success. She has been able to derive the benefits of modern life without losing her charm and Polynesian softness.

The brotherhood of man is a meaningful concept in our outlying State, a rather strange paradox since she, not the mainland, felt the bombs of World War II. Let us hope that mankind can learn from her example.

Action Urged

SPEECH OF

HON. CHARLES L. WELTNER

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1966

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Speaker, the Atlanta Constitution praises the admin-

istration's efforts to control crime, and it adds that further delay in passage of a bill to control firearms sales is "inimical to the public welfare."

The paper hails the calling for more effective action against crime, for more efficient courts, improved corrective machinery, and comprehensive planning for major reforms.

Because the article sheds light on such a vital subject, I offer the editorial for inclusion in the RECORD:

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, Mar. 11, 1966]

CUTTING OUR CRIME BILL

President Johnson's message to Congress on control of crime is significant from several standpoints. In calling for more effective action, more efficient courts, improved corrective machinery and comprehensive planning for major reforms, he was reacting to the rapid increase in the Nation's crime bill.

If this crime toll, running into billions annually, can be lowered, the additional investment will be worthwhile. The President asked for increased appropriations for the 1965 Law Enforcement Act from \$7.2 million to \$13.7 million—a modest price to pay in relation to the crime bill.

The President does not propose to take over responsibility of local law enforcement agencies. He does propose to improve them through Federal programs in education and research into techniques. If carried out, these would result in a more uniform system of justice, administered by more capable officers.

Stressing rehabilitation programs, the President asked for consolidation within the Justice Department of Federal prison, parole and probation functions. And the Secretary of Labor was directed to develop "effective ways to provide correction institutions with job information for good-risk parolees."

As for the indiscriminate sale of guns, the President cited an urgent need for legislation to regulate the flow of firearms into dangerous hands. Here he should know whereof he speaks.

"There is no need to curtail the right of citizens to keep arms for such traditional pastimes as hunting and marksmanship," the President declared. "But there is a pressing need to halt blind, unquestioned, mail-order sales of guns and the over-the-counter sales to buyers from out of State whose credentials cannot be known."

Control of firearms sales is already before Congress. Further delay of its passage is inimical to the public welfare.

No Room for "Goo-Goos" in Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 1, 1966

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently the Evening Star carried an excellent report on the war on poverty in Chicago. This penetrating article on Chicago's effort to effectively eliminate poverty was prepared by Mr. Haynes Johnson, a staff writer for the Evening Star.

I would like to call this article to the attention of my colleagues and in particular to those who have been so quick to criticize Chicago's program.

It is most significant to me that so distinguished a reporter as Mr. Johnson with no particular ax to grind nor any reason to embellish any of his facts has prepared an impartial and factual report on the situation in Chicago.

I congratulate Mr. Johnson for his thoroughly impartial reporting. He has performed a most significant public service by putting the antipoverty program in Chicago in its proper perspective.

Mr. Johnson's article follows:

NO ROOM FOR "GOO-GOOS" IN CHICAGO

(By Haynes Johnson)

CHICAGO.—Near the door was a huge smiling photograph of Richard J. Daley, the mayor of Chicago. Inside there were bands and bunting, posters and placards, potted palms and plants, red-white-and-blue curtains, a Negro boys' choir singing "Our Unity Enjoy" and "The American Dream," and a banner spread across the stage saying:

A YEAR OF COMMUNITY PROGRESS

It was reminiscent of a thousand block rallies, ward meetings, and political conventions, but this was different. In typical lusty fashion, Chicago was saluting its own efforts in the war on poverty.

The alderman, the Cook County judge, the city commissioner, the county board member and the people listened while the speakers, quoting Lincoln, Roosevelt and Kennedy, described what progress Chicago has made in that fight against poverty.

When the speeches were over, all the photographs had been taken and the crowd was milling about, a Negro standing off to the side said quietly:

"It has a chance to work if they'll let it. You know everybody's in favor of change if it doesn't hurt them—but you can't have change without hurting someone."

Change and conflict are the dominant notes in Chicago's poverty program. Out of this ferment comes a strong sense of action and genuine, if limited, accomplishment.

There's no doubt that Chicago's poverty program is enmeshed in politics. But that doesn't mean politics has sullied the program, or that Chicago is the classic example of the noble poor engaged in a virtuous struggle against the venal politicians.

This is not the old-style blatant pork-barrel politics of the past. It is more subtle, and probably more successful.

One can look far and wide in the Chicago poverty program for evidence of outright patronage appointments or political hiring and firing. If it exists, it is not apparent. Instead, Mayor Daley seems bent on running a good program—perhaps on the correct assumption that a good program bears its own political fruit.

In a poverty campaign as in all its public acts, Chicago is pragmatic and tough-minded. It does not have time for "googos," Chicagoese for do-gooders. Yet of all the local wars on poverty this reporter has seen, Chicago's is the most dynamic. It is also the most controversial, for this is the scene of a national philosophical and political struggle.

Essentially, the fight in Chicago is over the interpretation of the Economic Opportunity Act, the law under which the Federal war on poverty operates.

Chicago—and that means Mayor Daley—takes the position that the act stresses local, not Federal, initiative. The city wants to run its own program its own way. Washington says that even if it is not spelled out in the law, the Government must set the standards and program criteria.

The central issue is control of the program and that vexatious clause in the act which states that poverty programs must be "developed, conducted and administered with

March 17, 1966

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

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lliamsburg—a community with traditions extending back to before the founding of our Republic.

In this editorial the editor and publisher, Mr. John O. W. Gravely III, tells of a recent community declaration in support of our men in Vietnam. The declaration—which was signed by 4,000 citizens of the Williamsburg area—also expresses their "dismay, shock, and shame at the small groups of misguided and frightened people who criticize U.S. actions in Vietnam."

The Virginia Gazette sets forth these facts to illustrate its conviction that the people of Williamsburg are not losing sympathy with the cause of the valiant Americans fighting in Vietnam, and that thousands of other communities in this great Nation of ours feel the same way. That is also my conviction, and in support of this conviction, I insert this splendid and patriotic editorial in the RECORD:

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We write to you not as a constituent but as an American.

You have been quoted in the press quite frequently of late as saying that President Johnson is rapidly losing the support of millions of American citizens with regard to our fight for freedom in Vietnam. We have a growing conviction that this simply is not so. Here are a few local facts that feed that conviction.

Some weeks ago two Williamsburg citizens, an insurance agent and a barber, came into this office and said they were worried about all of the publicity being given to the draft card burners and bearded protestors criticizing U.S. involvement in Vietnam. As individual citizens they wanted to voice their wholehearted support for the American fighting man over there. They were convinced a lot of other people wanted to do the same thing, if there were only a way. We hatched the idea of a petition, a community declaration of support for our men in Vietnam, which would be available for anyone and everyone to sign. No big rally, no fireworks—just a simple declaration. The three of us composed the following:

"A DECLARATION

"We citizens of the cradle of democracy—the historic Williamsburg-Jamestown-Yorktown area—feel a special duty and privilege to proclaim publicly our support of present U.S. policy in Vietnam.

"Caring for the torch of freedom never has been an easy job. Americans first lit the flame with determination and great personal sacrifices at Jamestown, added more fuel at Williamsburg, and made it permanently bright at Yorktown. Since then despots and dictators frequently have threatened to extinguish this symbol of man's God-given right to liberty. Each time Americans have been among the very first to go and help keep freedom's flame burning. They have answered this calling down through history, whenever and wherever it took them—to such places as New Market and Gettysburg, San Juan and Santo Domingo, Belleau Wood and the Argonne, Okinawa and Bastogne, Berlin, and Lebanon, Inchon and Saigon.

"Today we look with dismay, shock, and shame at the small groups of misguided and frightened people who criticize U.S. actions in Vietnam. Our fighting men over there are doing what has become a sacred obligation for all straight-thinking Americans, what so many forefathers did before them—protecting the torch of freedom from those who would snuff it out.

"We, the citizens of this community, want the President, the Congress and the Nation

to know that we support 100 percent our sons, relatives, and friends who are fighting and dying in Vietnam. They are acting in the finest American tradition, defending that precious torch so that those at home may live in the secure warmth of its flame. Their actions will not go unremembered."

The Williamsburg declaration was published in this newspaper. Copies were printed up and displayed at various public places around the community. Signers were welcomed. The response was immediate. The mayor of the city of Williamsburg and the chairman of the board of supervisors of James City County became the first signers. Virtually every civic, social, and church organization in town lent their endorsement. In an amazingly short time, the declaration collected more than 4,000 signatures. A copy of the declaration, together with all of the signatures, is now being sent to our Virginia representatives in Washington.

Last November this community received word that Glenn Dill Mann, a Williamsburg resident and graduate of the College of William and Mary here, was killed while serving as a Marine helicopter pilot in Vietnam. There was an immediate upsurge of sentiment to do something in his memory. In a single day students at the college donated 501 pints of blood to the Red Cross in a brief salute to this departed alumnus. The urge for a more lasting tribute continued. Last month the idea for a Glenn D. Mann Scholarship Fund was born, and already students at William and Mary have raised \$2,300 for this cause. The community at large is now rallying behind the fund, and it is certain to become a permanent memorial to Captain Mann.

Last fall newspaper publicized the fact that many American servicemen in Vietnam missed getting enough mail from home. Students at the public schools in Williamsburg and James City County, acting more or less on their own, responded with a letter-writing campaign. Youngsters in all grades began writing hundreds of letters (no one can know the exact count) to servicemen they did not know.

One Army sergeant wrote back to an elementary school child in December and mentioned that he knew a lot of South Vietnamese children, tragic victims of the war, were not going to have a very happy Christmas. The letter was published in this newspaper. Again the response was immediate. Williamsburg school children donated several truckloads of toys, clothes, etc., which were sent to Vietnamese orphans.

We mention these local facts, Senator not to bring undue credit to our community, but merely to illustrate that there are citizens here who are not losing sympathy with the cause of valiant Americans fighting in Vietnam. We are personally convinced that thousands of other communities in this great Nation of ours feel the same way.

But you, apparently, think otherwise. As a U.S. Senator you must travel to a lot of places to get your information. One thing is for sure. You haven't come to Williamsburg lately. Maybe you should.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN O. W. GRAVELY III.

The Economic Development of Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 17, 1966

MR. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the story of economic development in Puerto Rico is one of the great success stories of this

decade. It is a tale of which that island can well be proud; and the citizens of the United States, who have helped to make that progress possible, can share in her pride.

In a speech in Washington on February 24, 1965, the Honorable SANTIAGO POLANCO-ABREU, Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico, compresses the island's history into a very few, eloquent paragraphs. Our colleague notes in his conclusion:

In the 5 years since Castro has ruled rich Cuba, its per capita income has declined by 15 percent. During these same 5 years, Puerto Rico's per capita income has risen by more than 50 percent. I can think of few statistics which are more sobering.

The progress of Puerto Rico is indeed sobering. It is also heartening. Our distinguished colleague, Mr. POLANCO-ABREU, has told it well. The text of his speech follows:

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF PUERTO RICO

(By SANTIAGO POLANCO-ABREU)

There is probably no group in the world which is more dedicated to the goal of economic development of less wealthy nations than the membership of this society. I feel very much at home with men who are personally and professionally wrapped up in the vast problems of the two-thirds of the world who still live in great poverty.

Certainly all of us are perturbed by the enormous gulf which separates the "have" from the "have nots" nations, and even more perturbed by the fact that this gulf seems to be growing, rather than diminishing.

Happily, there have been some noteworthy exceptions to this trend of the rich getting richer, while the poor get poorer or barely hold their own. The rates of economic growth in Japan, Israel, and Puerto Rico, for example, are now much higher than the growth rates of more highly developed countries. In contrast with most underdeveloped countries, moreover, their growth has been nothing short of spectacular. Today, Japan, Israel, and Puerto Rico are on the other side of the fence, sending their technicians and providing technical assistance to their less fortunate neighbors.

Recognizing that Puerto Rico is no more a typical case than Japan or Israel, it is nevertheless worthwhile. I believe, to understand something of its economic development history in order to see more clearly some of the problems characteristic of underdeveloped countries and some of the solutions that have proved workable in Puerto Rico.

In 1898, when Puerto Rico was ceded by Spain to the United States, the island was indeed underdeveloped. Most people lived in poverty on small subsistence farms. Families were large and few children could be educated. Coffee was the only important export, and the total volume of overseas trade was small, indeed. The beginning of a modernized Puerto Rican economy was the development of sugar as a major export industry.

Growth of the sugar industry provided a necessary base for the more diversified economic development that was to come much later. The method of its development, however, was most damaging to the people of Puerto Rico. The sugar industry, largely owned by U.S. interests, took out from Puerto Rico far more in profits than the amount it invested or reinvested.

The depression of the 1930's hit Puerto Rico with great severity. Sugar and coffee prices tumbled to ruinous levels. Many coffee plantations, which had been severely damaged by hurricanes in 1928 and 1932, were not replanted. Everywhere there was deep social and political unrest. Puerto Rico was on the brink of revolution. Federal relief

March 17, 1960

programs, although substantial in size, were not sufficient to offset the collapse in the economy.

When it did come in 1940, the revolution was a peaceful one. A newly-formed political party, led by Luis Muñoz Marín, won a slim victory at the polls. Muñoz had campaigned, not on the traditional basis of Puerto Rico's political status, but on immediate and pressing economic and social issues. He promised bread for the hungry; land for the landless peasant; and freedom from political domination by the absentee sugar companies. His victory brought hope to a people that had for many years been mired in hopelessness.

During the war years, Muñoz and his new Popular Party administration laid the groundwork for the economic and social development programs which were later to be put into high gear. They also had a revenue windfall of \$160 million from countervailing excise taxes on rum, which sold in large quantities in the United States during the war. And although this was badly needed for public assistance and a score of urgent, immediate problems, the Government made the decision to invest this revenue in a number of public corporations intended to spearhead Puerto Rico's economic development.

Included among these publicly-owned corporations were utility companies in the fields of power, water supply, transportation, and communications. There were five others that had specific economic development objectives—the Government Development Bank, the Industrial Development Company, the Land Authority, and the Agricultural Company. Today, there are 22 public corporations in operation. Most of the larger ones are self-financing and today their assets total well over a billion dollars. Their establishment early in the program and their continued record of sound and constructive management have been major factors in the success of the development program as a whole.

To appreciate the strategy of the development program that was being planned and started in the 1940's, one needs to know something about Puerto Rico and its resources. The island is only about 100 miles long and 36 miles wide. We have sunshine, beaches and the sea, mountain, and a tropical rain forest.

Coffee and tobacco, and fruits and vegetables are grown in the mountains; and we have a rapidly-expanding livestock and poultry industry, which produces about as much farm income as sugar cane, our traditional crop.

It began to be clear even in the 1940's that Puerto Rican economy could not depend primarily on agriculture. The entire surface of the island has less than an acre of land per person and only about a third of its is suitable for crops of any kind. Even forestry is limited by the rugged terrain and by the great variety of trees and undergrowth typical of forests in the tropics. Prospecting for minerals started years ago and continues actively, but none has yet proved exploitable.

With limited land and no commercial resources of fuel or minerals, industrial development has had to be the key element in Puerto Rico's economic development program. But there were many people in the 1940's, including some of the experts, who believed that an industrial program was doomed to failure in a small agricultural country with such limited physical resources. In any case, it seemed quite clear that private investors would not initially undertake so rash a venture unless the government functioned as a very active catalyst.

At first the government constructed and operated five factories, but it soon became evident that it would be impossible for the Industrial Development Company to create jobs for Puerto Rico's rapidly rising population by this method. Some way had to be

found to enlist private capital on a large scale in the industrial program. A sound program of tax exemption, which was legislated in 1948, has proved to be the key incentive necessary for the development of private industrial enterprise in Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rico's program of tax incentives and assistance to private industry rests on two basic elements in Puerto Rican-United States relations. In accordance with its association with the United States, Federal taxes (with minor exceptions) do not apply in Puerto Rico and there are no tariffs or other restrictions on the flow of trade and money between the two areas. Since most Federal taxes, including the Federal corporate income tax do not apply in Puerto Rico, the Puerto Rican Government, by exempting a corporation from its own taxes, is able to grant complete tax freedom. Under present legislation, it does so for manufacturing and hotel enterprises for a period which ranges from ten years of tax exemption in the San Juan metropolitan area to 17 years in less-developed parts of the island.

Free trade with the United States, the other key element in United States-Puerto Rican relations, meant that a manufacturing operation in postwar Puerto Rico was not limited to what was then a very small local market. A plant efficient enough to compete with U.S. producers and also able to pay ocean freight costs, was in a position to sell without any other restrictions in what was, and is, the world's largest common market.

Our promotion efforts were at first slow in yielding results. By 1950 only about 80 new, privately operated plants had been promoted, and most of them were relatively small. By 1955, 300 new privately owned factories had been established. Today, 10 years later, there are more than a thousand new, privately owned factories operating in Puerto Rico. Most of them are affiliates of U.S. manufacturing concerns.

These factories produce over 300 different products. Apparel, textiles, electronics, machinery, and petrochemicals are among the largest and fastest growing of the new Puerto Rican industries. About three-quarters of their output is exported, mostly to the United States. Last year (1963-64), exports of the new industries totaled \$556 million, more than three times the value of our shipments of sugar and other agricultural products. Manufacturing industries now employ 105,000 workers at an average wage of \$1.16 an hour.

Puerto Rico is no longer a one-crop agricultural economy, moreover. Agricultural production has continued to expand and diversify. The value of livestock and poultry products, for example, is now about equal to sugar. But even with a growing total of agricultural production, manufacturing is today more than twice as important as agriculture as a source of income and as a stimulus to the general economy.

To develop manufacturing to the point it has already reached has taken considerably more than tax exemption, free trade, and promotion. The Puerto Rico Economic Development Administration and our vocational educational system have had to train thousands of workers and supervisors. Many manufacturers have needed and have received marketing, engineering, and other forms of technical assistance, as well as laboratory and testing services. For nearly a decade, the Industrial Development Co. has maintained a stock of about 50 new factory buildings throughout the island ready for immediate occupancy. The company and the Government Development Bank stand ready to participate in almost any kind of financing arrangement that seems mutually beneficial to the prospective manufacturer and to the people of Puerto Rico.

Tourism development was another logical target for Puerto Rico. The island's kind

climate, its golden beaches, and its beautiful scenery provided the natural resources on which a major tourist industry could be built. Nevertheless, tourism was a relatively slow starter.

But in the past 7 years the growth of Puerto Rican tourism has been spectacular. We have about 7,000 hotel rooms, two-thirds of which have been built within this 7-year period.

Primarily because of the swift expansion of manufacturing and tourism, the growth of the Puerto Rican economy as a whole has been among the most rapid anywhere in the world. Discounting price increases, the increase in real Commonwealth gross product during the past 5 years was 58 percent, an average of 9.5 percent, compounded annually. The largest gains in real gross product or real national income recorded elsewhere by the United Nations were 9.8 percent for Israel between 1952 and 1960, and 9.5 percent for Japan between 1954 and 1960.

It is, of course, a great flow of capital investment that accounts for Puerto Rico's record, or near-record rate of economic expansion. For 7 years, gross investment in fixed capital has been 20 percent or more of Commonwealth gross product. Last year it was 24.6 percent. Such a high rate of investment is characteristic of highly developed countries like Holland, Sweden, Canada and the United States but not of underdeveloped countries where capital is ordinarily very scarce.

Recognizing the high productivity of new investment in our economy, Puerto Rico has not only welcomed but actively promoted the investment of outside capital. As a result, about half of the funds invested in Puerto Rico have come from external sources, mainly the United States. There are three principal channels through which these funds flow in: first, direct investment, mainly in factories, hotels, and commercial establishments; second, the sale of bonds and other obligations of the Commonwealth and municipal governments and the public corporations; and third, the purchase of Federal Housing Administration guaranteed mortgages by the Federal National Mortgage Association (called Fanny May) and other investors outside Puerto Rico.

Direct investment of externally owned funds in Puerto Rican factories already exceeds half a billion dollars. Outstanding obligations of the Commonwealth and municipal governments and of Puerto Rico's public corporations total nearly a billion. Nearly two-thirds of this is accounted for by the public corporations, of which the Water Resources Authority is the largest.

I have been speaking in economic abstractions. Now let me translate this into human terms. In 1940, Puerto Rico's per capita income was \$121. By 1950 it had inched up to \$279. In 1964 it reached \$832, almost triple the figure of 14 years earlier. Even allowing for price increases, this meant that real per capita income had more than doubled in the past 14 years. In 1950, per capita income in Puerto Rico was barely 18 percent of the U.S. average, but by 1960, it had risen to 30 percent. So even in comparison with the United States, the gap has been closing rapidly. These per capita figures have, of course, deep human meaning. They mean that a man who was worried about being able to afford a pair of shoes 25 years ago, now worries about finding a parking space for his Chevrolet; and that the woman who then wondered if she could feed her children, now is concerned with providing them with high school or college education.

Let me cite some revealing indexes of this new, relative prosperity. In only 6 years, the people of Puerto Rico raised their per capita consumption of animal proteins from 54 percent of the U.S. average to 82 percent. In these same 6 years, the registration of motor vehicles increased twofold, while the num-